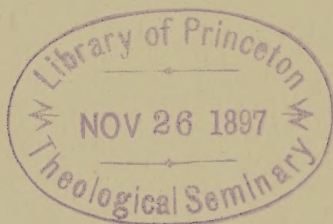


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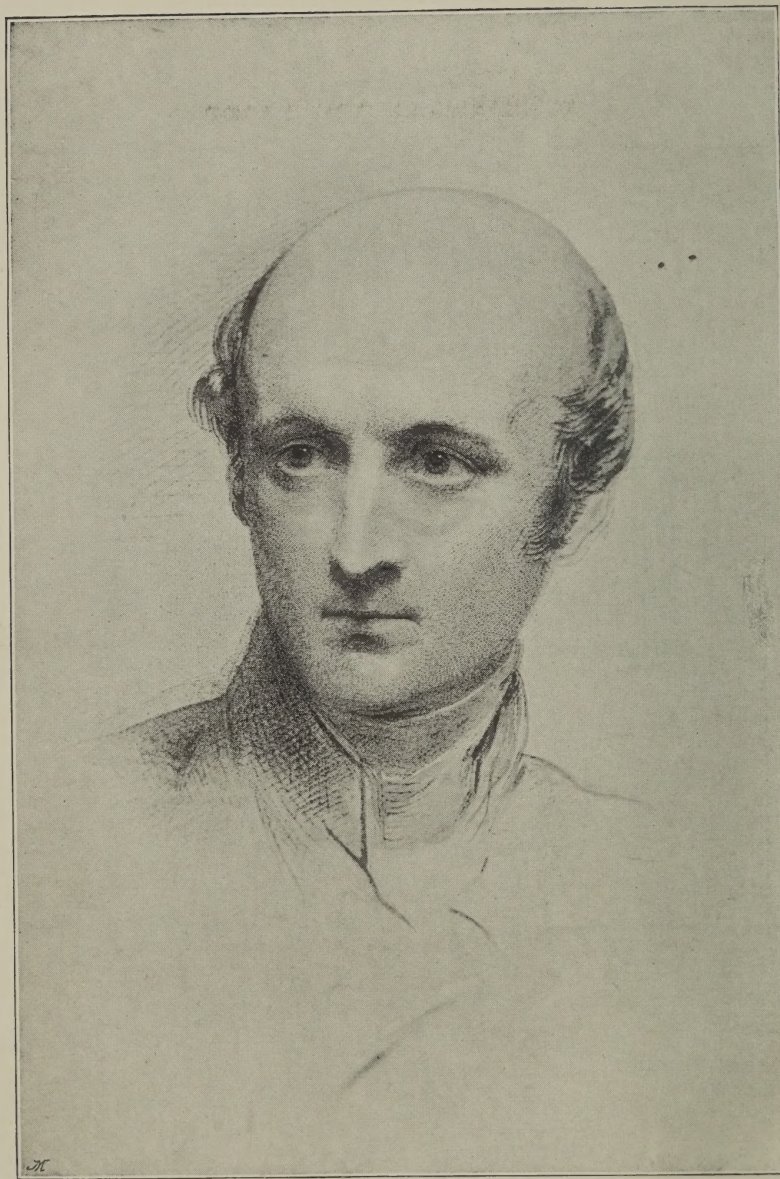
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ARCHDEACON OF CHICHESTER.

CARDINAL MANNING

BY

J. R. GASQUET



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WITH POSTSCRIPT

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PREFACE.

THE following biography of the late Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster speaks so clearly for itself as to need no explanation from me. It will be seen that no attempt has been made at completeness of details, nor to give even a cursory view of the times in which Cardinal Manning lived. It is, perhaps, too soon for a Life on such a scale to be undertaken with any prospect of success; and in any case it was excluded by the limits of space here inevitably imposed on me. My object has been the simpler but perhaps not the easier one, of presenting to the reader the chief features of the character of that great prelate, so as to set before him the likeness of Cardinal Manning that gradually developed itself in my mind during a quarter of a century of an intimacy that he permitted. To recall those days has been an inexpressible happiness to me.

This has determined the general outline; and my recollections of what he from time to time said have supplied many of the details; the greater part of the remainder has been derived from the recollections of his relatives, many of whom have gone to their rest, although enough survive to enable me to relate much that will be of interest, and to clear up many points that would have been otherwise doubtful or obscure. I have endeavoured, as far as possible, to be accurate, even in unimportant details; but I know how difficult it is to avoid mistakes, and therefore hope that any reader who detects them will do me the kindness of pointing them out. I have consulted, and profited by, most of the accounts that were published at the time of Cardinal Manning's decease, and desire to record my obligations to them. I am even more indebted to the copious bibliography in the first edition of Mr. A. W. Hutton's *Life*, which is indispensable to any one writing the Cardinal's biography. To the Editor of the *Month* my thanks are particularly due for permission to reproduce an excellent and genial article by the late Fr. Morris, S.J., which appeared in that periodical. This is given as an appendix.

Last, but by no means least, I must express my gratitude to Mrs. E. Raymond Barker, who devoted herself to the tedious labour of going carefully through the work as it was written, correcting many slips and inaccuracies, and finally copying out the whole. It is not too much to say that without her constant assistance, prolonged for many months, this Life could never have been accomplished.

A postscript upon Mr. Purcell's *Cardinal Manning*, which has appeared since my sketch was published, is added to this edition, in which one or two slight corrections have also been made.

J. R. GASQUET.

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CARDINAL MANNING.

CHAPTER I.

BIRTH, PARENTAGE, AND EARLY YEARS.

HENRY EDWARD MANNING, the second Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, was born on the feast of St. Henry, 15th July, 1808, at Copped Hall, his grandfather's place, near Totteridge, in the county of Hertfordshire. His father, Mr. William Manning, was for many years M.P. for Evesham and Lymington, and sometime Governor of the Bank of England. The Mannings were a very old Kentish family, and intermarried with other families of position. They have left numerous memorials, many of which are recorded in Hasted's *Kent*, and in the sixth volume of the *Archæologia Cantiana*. The name, which means "manly" or "courageous," appears still to be found in the Frisian language, which is a survival of the Old Saxon. It first occurs on the obverse of various coins of the Saxon period, from Alfred downwards; showing that the Mannings bore the highly responsible office of "moneyers," or mint-masters, at that time.

It was remarked by the Cardinal, when he became Archbishop, that he had no need to alter or add to his family arms,—a cross patonce on a shield, gules

or azure,—these being the arms of the Abbey of Westminster and of St. Edmund, and having been also granted to Simon de Manninge when he went to the Holy Land.

Mr. William Manning was twice married: firstly, to a sister of Mr. Abel Smith and of the first Lord Carrington; and secondly, to Mary, daughter of Henry Lannoy Hunter, of Beech Hill, Reading. The Hunters are of French extraction, the name having been originally Veneur: they had thrice intermarried with the Bosanquets, a French Huguenot family who came over to England after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The future Cardinal therefore, like so many other persons who have attained distinction in this country, was of foreign extraction on the mother's side. Later in life he was glad to be able to say that he was also of Irish descent, a Miss Ryan having been married to his grandfather, Mr. William Coventry Manning, whose mother was of the family of Lord Coventry, of North Cray Place, Kent.

About the year 1815, Mr. Manning left Tottéridge, having purchased the estate of Combe Bank, near Sevenoaks, in Kent, and there his family became intimate with the rector of the parish, Dr. Christopher Wordsworth, with whose son Charles, afterwards Bishop of St. Andrews, the subject of this sketch was particularly connected, being the companion of his boyish sports, his schoolfellow at Harrow, and his pupil at Oxford. The earliest religious influence which he came under, must therefore have been of the old-fashioned Church-and-State type.

We have no details of his religious life during this period of childhood and early youth; but he has left on record his consciousness that he was divinely guided from his infancy. In *England and Christendom*, p. 93, we find the following: "I have no deeper conviction than that the grace of the Holy Spirit was with me from my earliest consciousness. Though at the time, perhaps, I knew it not as I know it now, yet I can clearly perceive the order and chain of grace by which God mercifully led me onwards from childhood to the age of twenty years."

We know, too, that he had ever a most earnest and tender affection for his family, which was the germ that expanded into his ardent patriotism and the universal charity which distinguished his later years. Writing, near the end of his life, to his only surviving sister, he was happily able to say—in a letter dated 9th January, 1882:—

"MY DEAR ———

". . . Frederick had kept all my letters to him, and had them put into two bound books. Dear brother! I never knew how much he cared for me. Some of his letters are most affecting. Indeed, I have been more touched and surprised than I can say at all your letters and those of my father and mother . . . never for a day have I forgotten them at the Altar in the Holy Mass.

"H. E. C. A."

The future Cardinal was sent, at an early age, to a preparatory school at Totteridge; and, in 1822, to Harrow, whither his friend, Charles Wordsworth,

had preceded him; he remained there four years. His masters and schoolfellows do not seem to have observed in him any special indications of future greatness. In the scanty accounts left us of this period, we find him a high-spirited but steady and well-conducted boy, delighting in all athletic sports. In these, indeed, he retained a keen interest throughout his life. His agility and quickness of eye made him an excellent cricketer, and he was in the Harrow Eleven which played against Eton for the first time in 1822. His extreme acuteness of hearing earned for him the sobriquet of "the Hare," and of "Prince Fine-Ear" (of the fairy-tale). Even in his old age his eye would sparkle, as he related how, with his first shot, he had brought down a hare; and still earlier, how his mother had, in an unguarded moment, given him the leave he asked, to go and shoot with his bow and arrows in the farm-yard; the result being that he returned home laden with a slain turkey, and other feathered victims,—the spoils of war.

Fortunately we have his own impressions as to the effect upon himself of his school life. In an address delivered at Woburn College, in June, 1882, he put on record the influence which a study of the classics had upon his character. He said, "They educated him as a man:" that is, they put before him, in matchless beauty of language, the general truths of natural religion, and the foundation of the natural virtues. The verse of Homer, frequently repeated by the Head Master: "Ever to excel, and to surpass the rest," sank deep into his

mind, and roused him to a noble emulation; "not out of ambition or rivalry, but from an appreciation and love of that which is high and good and noble."¹

The classical author who most impressed him was Horace, from whose *Satires* and *Epistles* he learned the dignity of a clear conscience, of strenuous effort when duty calls, of contentment with our lot, and of determination to overcome outward circumstances apparently insurmountable. His love for Horace never left him. Some one having asked him what were the qualifications of an English country gentleman, he answered: "To read Horace, and ride to hounds." In extreme old age he read him again for the fifth time, and with greater pleasure than ever. With Horace, as a teacher of the natural virtues, he ranked Juvenal; but he makes no mention of Virgil. Probably the vigorous and practical activity of his own mind made him feel less in harmony with the tender grace and repose of the greatest of Latin poets than with the masculine sense and directness of the two satirists.

It was remarked by his brother-in-law, Mr. Anderdon, that an English work powerfully influenced him in the same direction. The *Essays* of John Foster, a Baptist minister, had a very considerable effect upon thoughtful men in the early part of the present century, though they are now, perhaps undeservedly, forgotten. The Essay that was most esteemed is on "Decision of Character," which en-

¹ See, for the same metaphor, St. Matt. vii. 14, and 1 Cor. ix. 24.

forces the duty of self-training, and the power which each one has of forming his own character : and it is impossible now to read it without perceiving that we listen to its echo in not a few passages of the *Pastime Papers*.

CHAPTER II.

AT OXFORD.

IT had been intended that Henry Edward Manning, on leaving Harrow, should enter his father's house, and stand for Parliament as soon as possible. This plan, however, was frustrated by adverse circumstances, which led to his accepting a post in the Colonial Office. In order to qualify himself for this, he entered Balliol College, Oxford, in the spring of 1827. This change in his prospects, which he felt at the time as a keen disappointment, proved to be the greatest benefit and blessing.

Bishop Charles Wordsworth, whose pupil he became at Oxford, remarks that whereas he had been indolent at Harrow, feeling his future assured, he now worked hard for his degree: and that his misfortune had an ennobling effect upon his character. At this time, also, he first came under the influence of religion.

The Mannings were on very intimate terms with the family of Mr. Bevan, a well-known banker. One of the sons was a schoolfellow of Henry Manning, who often spent part of his vacations at Trent Park, Mr. Bevan's country-house. On one of these occasions he was walking with Miss Bevan (afterwards Mrs. T. Mortimer, the authoress of various "Evan-

gelical" works of piety), when she noticed that he was depressed, and asked the reason. Upon his admitting that the loss of his worldly prospects was a heavy blow to him, and that this was the cause of his depression, she endeavoured to cheer him by pointing out that nobler prospects and higher aims than any to which he had yet aspired, were open to him. "Heavenly ambitions," she said, "are not closed against you." He listened, and acknowledged that she might be in the right. She then proposed that during his visit they should every morning read the Bible together, with her brother. They did so, and continued to read the same portions of Scripture, and to compare notes by correspondence, after he and her brother had returned to Oxford.

The character of the religious school, under the influence of which he was thus brought, is best described in his own words (*England and Christendom*, p. 32): "The so-called Evangelical school appears to have been a form of personal piety which could not perpetuate itself. It contained a multitude of the highest and best English natures. . . . The Bible and the *Following of Christ* were their textbooks; and their lives were singularly conformed to the Catholic type of humility, patience, piety, submission, self-denial, and communion with God."

Throughout the youth and early manhood of the future Cardinal, the influence of another person was very great and lasting, though it has not been generally recognized. Mr. Manning's eldest daughter by his second wife married, at an early age, Mr. John Laviscount Anderdon, who became Mr. Manning's

partner, as well as his son-in-law. This gentleman, the father of the Rev. W. H. Anderdon, S.J., was known as a devout Anglican layman of the school of the Non-Jurors and especially of Ken, whose *Life* he wrote besides several devotional works. He was sixteen years older than Henry Manning, and there arose between them a very strong and tender affection.

While the latter was at Oxford, they kept up a constant correspondence on religious subjects, portions of which have been preserved. From these it appears that Mr. Anderdon trained and encouraged his brother-in-law in habits of self-examination and piety; but, above all, continually pressed upon him devotion to the Holy Ghost, as the Principle of Grace, and the means of resisting the faults and tendencies to evil which self-inspection must unfold to each one of us. They who are familiar with the Cardinal's works on the Holy Spirit will here recognize their source. At the same time he had brought before him, as a corrective to the exclusively personal and subjective character of Evangelicalism, the existence of a visible, though fallible Church, and the value of a fixed form of public prayer.

But his interest in religious questions by no means made him remiss in pursuing his studies at the University. His tutor, Dr. Wordsworth, has put on record that Henry Manning went little into society, and became a thoughtful, hard-reading man, who owed his readiness as a speaker, and the felicity of his diction, to the constant use of his pen when reading. Almost the only relaxation he allowed himself

was frequenting the Union, then called the University Debating Society, of which he was soon recognized as the ablest speaker. One debate has been fully described by several who were present. In November, 1829, three Cambridge undergraduates,—A. Hallam, Sunderland, and Monckton Milnes,—came over to persuade Oxonians that Shelley was a greater poet than Byron; and the general opinion was that Manning's speech was the ablest then made, though it did no more than cover the defeat of Oxford.

In the next term, Gladstone succeeded Manning as President of the Union; the latter confining himself entirely to reading for the schools. His perseverance was rewarded with success; and at Michaelmas, 1830, he came out a first class in classics.

CHAPTER III.

AT LAVINGTON.

ON leaving Oxford, Henry Manning entered the Colonial Office, and devoted his spare time to the study of Constitutional Law, and Political Economy. He was led to take a particular interest in the latter subject by his intimacy with Horne Tooke, Whately, Grote, and other leading economists of the day, with whom he sometimes dined at the Political Economy Club, of which they were members.

It was not long, however, before the inward promptings to a higher life appealed to him with ever-increasing force: and they were not disregarded.

He first opened his mind on the subject of entering the Christian ministry to his brother-in-law, Mr. Anderdon, in the summer of 1831, when they were turning over a sermon of Wesley's in a book-shop where they had taken shelter from a storm of rain. On 26th September of the same year, he wrote to Mr. Anderdon a long letter which shows how deeply he was stirred by the thought of this vocation. He was filled with fear lest he should prove unworthy, and also, lest he might be the victim of self-deception, "and thus be taken in a double toil." How greatly he was moved, may be judged from the conclusion of this letter: "Make it your duty to keep

(11)

me straight as far as man may minister to man. Impress on me the conviction I already entertain. Study to confirm my views. Speak openly your judgment."

His conception of a clerical vocation was evidently far above the ordinary ideal of the Establishment at that time. To him, it implied a life of renunciation and perfection, since he wrote to ask his friend if the words of Our Lord, "Go, sell all that thou hast . . . and come, follow Me," were not of binding force to him. It will be readily understood that Mr. Anderdon encouraged his resolve to devote himself, as a clergyman, unreservedly to the service of God.

Mr. Manning returned to Oxford, early in 1832, was elected a Fellow of Merton, and read for Orders. In Advent of the same year he was ordained, and preached his first sermon on Christmas Day, in Cuddesdon Church. His text was the first three verses of the sixtieth chapter of Isaias: "Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee." Fifty years later, on the 8th of January, 1882, the Cardinal Archbishop preached on the same text in the Church of St. Peter, Hatton Garden.

Shortly after his ordination, he acted as curate of the parish of Lavington-with-Graffham, during the illness of the rector, the Rev. John Sargent. On this gentleman's death, he was presented to the living by Mrs. Sargent, the late incumbent's mother, in May, 1833.¹

¹ Mr. Manning was already connected with the Sargents, his father's first wife being Mrs. Sargent's aunt.

On 7th November of the same year, he married Caroline, the third daughter of his predecessor. Two of the other daughters married sons of the celebrated William Wilberforce,—Samuel, afterwards Bishop of Oxford, and of Winchester, and Henry, Vicar of East Farleigh,—the remaining daughter marrying Mr. G. D. Ryder, a son of the Bishop of Lichfield. Mrs. Ryder and Mrs. Henry Wilberforce, with their husbands and children, subsequently entered the Catholic Church; the other two sisters died at a comparatively early age. The marriage ceremony was performed by Samuel Wilberforce in the church at Lavington, and for three years and a half the rectory presented a perfect realization of domestic happiness. This was, however, overcast by Mrs. Manning's illness, which ended fatally, 24th July, 1837.

Mr. Manning veiled the depth of his grief beneath an almost unbroken reticence, but on the few occasions when he spoke of his wife manifested the keenest suffering. It is not true, as has been stated by one writer with a show of knowledge, that he never breathed her name to a living being. Very naturally, he would only breathe it to his nearest and dearest relatives. We shall do well to imitate his silence, and respect the privacy of domestic affliction. It will not, however, be indiscreet to record the impression made by his bearing and demeanour on the person who was perhaps most able to appreciate them. Many years afterwards, Mr. Anderdon remarked that he had never seen anything surpass the majestic calmness of Mr.

Manning at his wife's funeral; and from that time he observed in his already chastened character the stamp of a deeper earnestness, and a detachment from earthly things which was not there before.

Lavington was in all respects an ideal parish. The Cardinal's own description of it after he had left it is too beautiful to be passed over, though it has been so often quoted. In *England and Christendom*, p. 124, he writes: "I loved the parish church of my childhood, and the college chapel of my youth, and the little church under a green hill-side, where the morning and evening prayers, and the music of the English Bible for seventeen years became a part of my soul. Nothing is more beautiful in the natural order, and if there were no eternal world I could have made it my home."

His predecessor, Mr. Sargent, was a devout Evangelical of the Simeon type, but he had laid more stress on frequent services, and on regularly visiting his parishioners, than was at all usual in that section of the Establishment. When Mr. Manning succeeded to the charge of the parish, he made little or no change in the character of the services, which always remained, during his incumbency, without any sign of what would now be thought even the most moderate amount of ceremonial, if we except his single innovation of wearing a surplice when preaching.

Almost all the parishioners attended the daily services, to which the rector often summoned them by ringing the church bell himself. His sermons were perhaps all the more beautiful for the simplicity

of diction needful in order to adapt them to the understanding of his audience ; and he soon became well known as a preacher. The four volumes of his discourses as an Anglican bear witness to his growing power as he developed a style of his own. The two earlier volumes were revised by Mr. Anderdon, who strove to form his style on that of the Caroline divines of the seventeenth century, especially on Jeremy Taylor. In after years, however, while fully recognizing the wealth of fancy in that writer, Mr. Manning was more influenced by the greater simplicity and earnestness of Leighton ; and as time went on acquired a certain similarity of style to that of the Scottish Archbishop. As far as he had been consciously affected by any previous author, he had taken for his model Bolingbroke, whose *Patriot King* he always admired, and looked upon as “ one of the choicest specimens of the English language.”

The Rector of Lavington saw his labours rewarded with an amount of success which will be thought considerable if measured by the Anglican standard of sixty years ago. The attendance at daily prayer increased, there were few parishioners who were not communicants, and pastor and flock were united by the closest ties of affection. Mr. Wilberforce has borne touching testimony to the grief of the people of Lavington at the death of him whom they still called “ the Archdeacon ; ”—a grief felt not only by the old, who treasured the memory of his sayings and doings while amongst them, but also by the generation grown up during the forty years which had elapsed since he resigned the living

(see *The Nineteenth Century*, Feb. 1892). It was well known among the Cardinal's friends that the fact of any one having come from his old parish at once sufficed to ensure his warmest interest, and if need be, his generous assistance. The following may be given as one out of numberless instances of this abiding interest.

Some years ago, the Anglican Sisters working in Hoxton came across an old man, alone, in great destitution, and apparently dying. On being questioned as to his previous circumstances, he repeated, with sad persistence, that, "if only his dear old master knew of his distress he would be sure to help him." On learning that this master was "Mr. Henry Manning, of Lavington Rectory," to whom he had been gardener, the Sisters wrote to the Cardinal about him. A few days later, they found their patient beaming with happiness, and eager to tell them that his dear old master had been to see him, had sat and talked with him, had promised to provide him with every comfort, and had even offered, then and there, to take him away in his carriage to a lodging nearer to his own house. The visit was repeated day after day, and when the old gardener begged to be received into the Catholic Church before he died, his former master had the consolation of rendering him this last and highest service.

A few years only before his death the Cardinal, on returning home from preaching in one of the London churches, related with evident delight that, after the service, one of his old parishioners had come to him in the sacristy and said: "Why, you told us

nothing to-night different from what you used to preach when you were Archdeacon." This member also of his former flock in the wilderness, eventually followed his shepherd into the true Fold.

It was from his constant habit of visiting his parishioners, that he acquired the intimate knowledge not only of the circumstances, but also of the feelings, needs, and trials of the poor, which was the foundation of that active sympathy with the English labourer so conspicuous in his after life.

Another advantage of his life at Lavington was the leisure it gave him for study and reading, thus enabling him to lay up stores of theological material for use in future days when the calls upon his time were more numerous and pressing. It has been assumed that Cardinal Manning was not an extensive reader; but any one acting on such an assumption would have probably paid for his rash mistake. Such an error was doubtless based on his own disclaimer of being a scholar, so that the world, according to its wont, took him at his own valuation. This valuation, again, was based upon his estimate of the long, unremitting, and close attention to study needed to make a scholar, demanding a greater sacrifice of time than he, as a man of action, could afford; but when occasion arose, he gave proof of wide and accurate reading. It was rare indeed to find him unacquainted with any passage of importance in the works of the Fathers, nor was he ever at a loss to quote from them passages bearing on any subject under discussion. His interest in such studies never abated. Even a few

months before his death, he criticised with much acuteness the latest addition to patristic literature,—the *Apology of Aristides*. In the latter part of his life at Lavington, his reading extended to the Schoolmen, especially the great post-Tridentine scholastics ; so that, when he was received into the Church, he was in a position at once to profit fully by the theological courses in Rome.

Meanwhile, Mr. Manning's reputation as a preacher spread beyond the limits of his parish ; and at the same time his gifts as a great organizer and administrator began to be recognized. It is interesting to remark at once that he had, as early as 1838, discerned, with unerring instinct, one of the principal dangers which threatened the Christianity of England, and which continued to be his chief care throughout the whole of his long life. Preaching in Chichester Cathedral, he recognized the first stirring of the air which preceded the movement towards National Education. He urged with great force that the first aim and groundwork of education, the vital element and perfecter of the whole work, is the right determination of the will, confirmed by the formation of Christian habits, for God's service here, and for salvation hereafter. He consequently pressed home the corollary that the Church alone had the right to educate ; and that the mere reading of the Bible, without note or comment, as proposed by those he was resisting, was inadequate and misleading. "There must be the full and correct sense, the right and unreserved interpretation." Nor did he confine himself to mere

words, but actively supported the National Society and the Diocesan Boards of Education.

By his attitude towards this and other questions which the Liberals of that time were beginning to raise, he came to be looked upon by the High Church party as one of their natural leaders. This influence was rather increased than lessened by his living habitually at Lavington, which, except for a first visit to Rome, in 1838, he seldom left for any length of time. “*Habitabat secum*,” as St. Gregory says of St. Benedict : he went little away from home, and those who desired his advice or help, had to seek him out. They were received with unfailing kindness and hospitality. It came therefore as no surprise to any one, that, on the resignation of the then Archdeacon of Chichester, in January, 1841, the Rector of Lavington should have been appointed to fill his place.

CHAPTER IV.

ARCHDEACON OF CHICHESTER.

AT the age of thirty-three, then, Archdeacon Manning found for the first time full scope for his powers. He had, as the world says, "the ball at his feet," and the way was open for him to the highest prizes of the Anglican Church. The grace and beauty of his person, the eloquence of even his ordinary conversation, and the charm of his manner, were merely the setting of the gem within. That most acute observer, Bishop Philpotts of Exeter, did but express the opinion of all who knew the Archdeacon, when he said: "There are three men to whom the country has mainly to look, in the coming years,—Manning in the Church, Gladstone in the State, and Hope (Mr. Hope-Scott) in the Law."

The only requisite to success in life which he might be thought not to have, was the desire for honours and position. One who impressed those about him as singularly self-sacrificing and devout, was unlikely to be prompted by that personal ambition without which men can seldom climb to eminence. Many persons who had no knowledge of him, and even some who might have known him better, have found no difficulty at all in answering the question they have set themselves. With a readi-

ness born of hasty judgment, and imperfect observation of human nature, they easily decided that one only motive was enough to explain all Archdeacon Manning's public life. Ambition, they say, led to the distinction of his early life at the University; ambition made him leave the Colonial Office for the Church; ambition was the mainspring of his action as a clergyman and preacher; ambition, baulked of its reward, was the cause of his leaving the Anglican body, and becoming a Catholic.

Any such simple explanation of the life of so complex a being as man, stands self-condemned as entirely inadequate; but it may be at once admitted that the future Cardinal was ambitious, did well to be ambitious, and would not have been the great servant of God and man that he was, if he had not been ambitious. The truth is, that ambition, as the word is now commonly used, is in itself neither a good nor a bad quality, but becomes the one or the other according to its motive and its plan of action. Every person endowed with great practical powers must be conscious of possessing them, and must strive for opportunities of exerting them. It could not be otherwise. The man of great parts, who suffers them to go to waste from timidity, or sloth, has had his doom pronounced in the parable of the unprofitable servant, who buried in the earth the talent entrusted to him. If the consciousness of great gifts is accompanied by a humble reference of them to the Giver; if the desire to find scope for them is free from unworthy and selfish motives, or other base alloy; if the results—honours, influence,

and the praise of men—are valued only as means towards still greater service;—then, indeed, ambition becomes one of the highest and noblest of virtues. It has been truly said, that, “Nothing can be more foolishly cynical than to mistake for vanity and self-exultation the consciousness of power inseparable from the insight, and not less from the veracity, of highly-gifted minds: their genius forbids them to be blind even to their own relative endowments: but if they seem to hold them proudly as against pretentious rivals, they hold them humbly, and as a sacred trust, beneath the Eye of their great Taskmaster; and apply them with no less severe an awe to the most hidden stones in the temple of their life than to its most conspicuous surface.”

It will appear even from this sketch, and would come out in detail and more evidently in a fuller biography, that these conditions were ever present to the Cardinal’s mind, during a long life spent in the service of God and of his fellow-men.

In his new position, Archdeacon Manning showed at once that his vigour would raise to a higher level the ordinary estimate of the duties of his office. At the formal visitations at Chichester Cathedral, he dealt with all the questions of ecclesiastical policy as they arose; but his principal work was the personal inspection of every parish church in his district. Nor were such visitations merely perfunctory. The pocket-books containing his notes made on the spot, show the minute care with which he examined the state of the fabric and the furniture in each church; and the same is implied by the fact of his hair-

breadth escape from a terrible accident. In his visitation of one of the old churches, he went between the roof and the ceiling, when the latter gave way under him, and he slipped through as far as his arm-pits. With great presence of mind, he stretched out his arms, and then managed to raise himself, inch by inch, until he could get into safety on one of the beams. Those who remember the state of many of the Anglican churches, especially in country districts, before the middle of this century, will readily believe that the Archdeacon found many defects and abuses, nor did he shrink from pointing them out. But it is no small proof of his tact, as well as of his earnestness, that he should have been able to perform his difficult task with so little friction, and without diminution of the general esteem and affection of his subordinates in the ministry. These feelings found expression, among other instances, in an address, presented to him by the clergy of the Archdeaconry in 1848, on his return from Italy, whither he had been to recruit his health. They welcome him home, praying, "that we may not, by a like cause, be again separated, especially in these anxious times, from one whom we have ever found ready to direct, counsel, and encourage us."

His success was, no doubt, partly due to his being the most energetic leader in the general movement throughout the Anglican body, which he described with so much sympathy in later years,¹ and partly to the urgent need of reform. To a large extent,

¹ *England and Christendom*, pp. xxxvi.-xli.

however, his evident zeal and self-sacrifice were sufficient to secure it. In proof of this, we find, that, after time had healed the pain of their loss, many of his former clergy renewed their kindly relations with him ; and not a few consulted him, in difficulties unconnected with the religious differences that separated them. He supported the movement to improve and adorn the parish churches, not merely by urging it publicly and privately, but also by his example. He and Bishop Wilberforce restored the churches of Lavington and Graffham, leaving them models of tasteful simplicity, and of fitness for their purpose ; although he was wont to say, on showing the latter church, that its darkness was a proof that even an archdeacon, with the best intentions, might err.

He laboured, however, strenuously, for many objects which were dearer to him than even the church fabrics ; and it is interesting to remark that most of these remained in his mind, and were advocated by him in almost the same words, during his Episcopate, nearly fifty years later. Thus, in 1845, he brought forward in his charge the claims and needs of the labouring poor, showing the same sympathy and active charity which distinguished his later years. "They are," he said, "a noble-hearted race, whose sincerity, simplicity, and patience we should buy cheap at the cost of our refinements . . . we have a people straitened by poverty, worn down by toil ; they labour from the rising to the setting of the sun ; and the human spirit will faint or break at last. . . . Time must be redeemed for the poor man. The world is too hard upon him, and makes him pay

too heavy a toll out of his short life. . . . Little is needed to make their holiday. The green fields, and tools idle for a day, the church bells, an active game, simple fare, the sport of their children, the kindly presence and patient ear of superiors, is enough to make a village festival." In quite another direction, he was one of the first to recognize the need of theological training for clergymen, and to succeed at last, "through much opposition and evil report," in establishing a few diocesan colleges, and in moving the Universities to make some provision for the same want.

But the matter which pressed most upon him, at least during the latter years of his archidiaconate, was the question of popular education, which had engaged his attention when only Rector of Lavington. It arose in the following manner. In 1838 and 1839, the Government attempted to introduce a new system which the Archdeacon and his friends believed would have separated secular from religious instruction. A struggle thereupon ensued, which ended, in 1840, in an agreement that all schools receiving Government grants should be open to the inspection of officials appointed by the Crown, with the concurrence of the two Anglican Archbishops. This compromise worked well until 1846, when it was remarked that the Education Committee was recommending, for new schools, certain clauses of management, which were usually embodied in their trust-deeds. It does not appear that these were in themselves objectionable, but they were looked on as the thin end of the wedge which was to secularize

education. The Archdeacon led the opposition to this change, dwelling on it in his last charge, in 1849; and speaking at a great meeting of the National Society in June of the same year.

At this meeting, which lasted eight hours, the Rev. G. A. Denison moved that the Government proposals should be accepted. Archdeacon Manning moved amendments to the effect that no terms of co-operation with the State could be satisfactory which should not leave the Church of England full freedom to constitute schools conformably to her own principles. This speech had more than an oratorical success; it had the result of leading Denison to withdraw his motion, and to accept the amendment so completely, that, in 1891, he had come to think that the compromise had been proposed by Manning and rejected by his own influence.

This was almost the last public appearance of Archdeacon Manning; we have now to go back to an earlier period, in order to give some account, however incomplete, of those workings of Divine Grace which led him at length into the Catholic Church.

CHAPTER V.

TOWARDS CONVERSION.

To give an adequate history of the dealings of God with any human soul, is confessedly a task beyond the power of man. After all that is known of the dearest and most intimate friend has been recorded, far, far more must remain untold. A man writing his own life can of course supply details which could not be known without such self-revelation; and this fact gives an ever-fresh interest to the histories of their conversion which we owe, for instance, to an Augustine or a Newman. But this partial lifting of the veil that shrouds the individual relations of each soul to God, is of value chiefly because it enables us to realize how infinitely little we know of the ways of God with man. Far above human ken are all the more powerful agents in the spiritual growth of the elect;—the providential ordering of their surroundings, the solicitations of Divine Grace, the enlightenment of the understanding, and the subjection of the human will by the indwelling of the Holy Spirit.

With these reserves, we can go on to inquire what external influences seem to have assisted in leading Cardinal Manning into the Church, and trace the course he followed.

The religious surroundings that affected his early

life, down to the time of his taking Orders, have been sufficiently told. The reader may naturally think there is one notable omission; namely, any mention of the Oxford movement of 1833, and, in particular, of Cardinal Newman. The simple reason of this omission is the fact that when Manning was an undergraduate at Balliol, Newman was a Fellow of another College, not, at that time, much known beyond it, and somewhat thrown into the background by the brilliant academical career of his younger brother, Francis. Nor, when the movement began, does it appear to have had at first the Rector of Lavington's full sympathy. While fully recognizing the power and beauty of Newman's earlier sermons, he complained of many omissions, especially of no mention being made in them of "the agency of the Holy Ghost as a Person continually present with us; helping, teaching, strengthening, guiding, and enabling us to use God's appointed means of grace."

All who are familiar with Cardinal Manning's later writings, will see how completely the idea was in germ, which was to develop into his work upon the *Temporal Mission of the Holy Ghost*. His direct obligations to Cardinal Newman's teaching date from a later time, when the *Essay on Development*, which he always considered Newman's greatest work, assisted in removing his difficulties and in leading him into the Catholic Church.

He sympathized with the earlier numbers of the *Tracts for the Times*, against the attacks of the Low Church organ, the *Record*; but he did not identify

himself with either the first or the second phase of the Tractarian movement. Ritualism had not yet arisen; but it is clear that he, like all the High Churchmen of that day, would have denounced a system which went so much farther than any of them were prepared to go.

The result of his theological studies was to make him dissatisfied with what did duty for dogmatic science in the Anglican body. He regretted more and more the absence of any scientific system of doctrinal, moral, or ascetical theology. His study of the Fathers only made him more deeply conscious of this want. He has related, that, when pacing his library alone at night, he would look at the titles of the great patristic works around him; and the reflection would force itself upon him: "These are the witnesses of the mind of the Church at all times. How far am I in harmony with them?"

Further, the Anglican system failed when brought to the practical test;—the cure of souls. Two experiences of this kind impressed him greatly, and are in themselves so interesting that they are worth recording. When visiting one of his parishioners, a labourer, who was dying, he discovered that the man had not the faintest idea of what was meant by crucifixion, and only understood it when the Rector, placing his walking-stick cross-wise against one of the bedposts, showed him, for the moment, the form of the cross. That such ignorance should be possible in a parish which had been exceptionally cared for by him and by his predecessor, was proof enough that the unlearned, at least, needed the presence of

visible objects to bring home to them the truths of religion.

Another time, in spite of all his visits and exhortations, he was able to make little or no impression on an old shepherd who was dying. At last he took down to the poor old man a print of Overbeck's beautiful picture of the Good Shepherd, wounding His Hands in rescuing one of His flock entangled among briars and thorns; and after a short explanation, left it with him. Next day, the Archdeacon found the dying man had placed the picture where he could always see it. Pointing to it as his pastor entered, he said only these words: "I love that Mon!" The way had been found to the heart of the old shepherd, who died in the most perfect dispositions.

The Rector of Lavington began his life as a moderate High Churchman of the old school, but with more active sympathy with Evangelicals than was common. There was that incongruity between the various portions of his belief, which was to be expected from the mutually inconsistent religious influences which had helped to mould his early life: for instance, he started with a very decided belief in Baptismal Regeneration, but none concerning the Holy Eucharist. No vigorous and healthy mind, however, is at rest until it has harmonized its various beliefs by subordinating them to some higher principle. Manning was no exception to this rule; and, happily, the idea that dominated and guided him,—the unity of the Church,—led him to be a Catholic. This principle he first put forward in

a sermon preached at Chichester in June, 1838, on *The Rule of Faith*. Although this was published with an Appendix and Notes directed against Catholic criticism, some of his fellow-Anglicans were clear-sighted enough to perceive his tendencies. The *Record* forthwith proclaimed his "apostasy," and "fall from the Gospel": and Bishop Blomfield, alluding to a visit to Rome which Manning was about to make, said that he had "thought of him as being already there, ever since publishing his last volume of sermons."

In this work, the Archdeacon maintains that there are three rules of Faith: (1) The private judgment of the individual (Protestant); (2) the interpretation of the living Church (Catholic); and (3) Scripture and Antiquity (Anglican). He had not yet realized that the Anglican Rule was identical in character with the Protestant one; only exercising its judgment on Scripture and Antiquity, instead of on Scripture alone. He did not yet see that the only question is between two judges;—the individual proceeding by critical reason, or, the Church proceeding by a perpetual Divine Assistance.

In 1841, he published a work on *The Unity of the Church*; a dogma which he had for some time realized to be of primary importance; but he had not then perceived that the unity of the Church is not a matter simply of external organization, like some constitutional law, but is the outward expression of the Divine life of the Church because of the oneness of her Head, and of her organizing Spirit, the Holy

Ghost.¹ The greater part of this book is a careful and learned vindication of the Unity of the Church, which might be read with agreement by Catholics; the anti-catholic portion being much more slight. These two works are, on the whole, proofs of his advance in the direction of Catholic doctrine;—the former pointing to the Fathers as witnesses to the primitive belief of the early Christians; the latter establishing one of the Notes of the true Church.

Newman's retirement to Littlemore, and all its attendant circumstances, revealed to Archdeacon Manning whither he had unconsciously been moving. The first effect upon him of this discovery,—as it had before been upon Newman in his own case,—was to rouse against the Church of Rome all the prejudice and deep distrust in which they had both been trained. Each of them, as it seems to us now, protests too much, showing, by the very language they use, that a personal element mingled with their fear. The sermon preached before the University of Oxford on 5th November, 1843, has its value as showing the Archdeacon's state of mind at the time, but has no other interest for us.

Indeed, Archdeacon Manning went through much the same revulsion of feeling that had previously been experienced by Newman's less advanced associates in the Oxford Movement, such as Pusey and Isaac Williams, when Newman retired in 1841, and

¹ The account here given of the two works is mainly taken from the Cardinal's own retraction of the errors they contain. (*Temporal Mission of the Holy Ghost*, pp. 26-32.)

the leadership had been—so to speak—put into commission. For it does not appear that any one person was able to take the great Master's place; though several have been mentioned as heading the party. It has, for instance, been said that the Archdeacon of Chichester succeeded to Newman's position; but it is very clear that he neither aimed at it himself, nor did the Tractarian party recognize him as their leader. During the years that followed, he was little at Oxford, which still continued the centre of the movement, and he took no very decided part in the numerous conflicts which arose in the University. Thus, in the proceedings against Dr. Hampden in 1836, he had voted, with the great majority, for curtailing the powers of the Bampton Lecturer; but when the much greater agitation arose on Dr. Hampden's appointment to the See of Hereford, Manning treated the choice of the Prime Minister as comparatively unimportant. The line he took, though a perfectly intelligible one, tended to separate him from those with whom he usually acted. He argued that the Bishop-elect had never been condemned by any tribunal of the Anglican Church; and that even the Oxford condemnation went no farther than to declare its want of confidence in his teaching.

In the proceedings against Mr. W. G. Ward,—the condemnation of his book, and his own "degradation,"—Archdeacon Manning voted in Mr. Ward's favour, with the other chief members of the High Church party. This date—14th February, 1845—is worthy of remark as being the first occasion when the divergence between the two Archdeacons and brothers-in-

law, Manning and Samuel Wilberforce, which had begun six years earlier, had reached a point where they publicly separated.

After Newman's conversion, Archdeacon Manning held himself more aloof from the Oxford party. With Dr. Pusey he was still on terms of affection and sympathy; but it is evident that the grounds for that sympathy were gradually disappearing. This must have been to a great extent due to the diametrically opposite tendencies of their minds. Dr. Pusey was ever skilful in proposing compromises and half-measures; while these were utterly distasteful to Manning, to whom nothing was ever more abhorrent than "to take up half on trust and half to try."

Manning's independence of the Tractarian movement is strikingly proved by his published letters to Dr. Pusey. In one of these (23rd January, 1847), replying to Dr. Pusey's lament over the conversion of Canon Macmullen, incumbent of St. Saviour's, Leeds, he writes: "You know how long I have to you expressed my conviction that a false position has been taken up in the Church of England. The direct and certain tendency of what remains of the original movement is to the Roman Church. You know the minds of men about us better than I do, and will therefore know both how strong an impression the claims of Rome have made upon them, and how feeble and fragmentary are the reasons on which they have made a sudden stand or halt in the line on which they have, perhaps insensibly, been moving for years. It is also clear that they are revising the

Reformation; that the doctrine, ritual, and practice of the Church of England, taken at its best, does not suffice them. . . . All this proves to me that the waters have over-passed the bounds of the Church of England taken at any time since Henry VIII. . . . I say all this, not in fault-finding, but in sorrow. How to help to heal it I do not presume to say."

But although the Archdeacon of Chichester was not the head of the Tractarian party, he had gradually come to be looked on as the leader of the High Church section of the Anglican body. This was no doubt chiefly due to his brilliant and varied gifts, but it was also felt that his zeal and devotion to the Establishment made him a safe guide.

"I was regarded," he says, "and even censured, as slow to advance, somewhat tame, cautious to excess, . . . morbidly moderate, as some one said."¹ On every occasion when Church principles had to be urged and defended, Archdeacon Manning was one of their foremost champions. Some of the opinions then held by him are of interest as being the same as those which animated him in after years as a Catholic: for instance, his urging, when a new bishop was to be appointed for Manchester, that poverty would be the surest testimony against a wealth-worshipping age, will remind all who knew him of his unfeigned thankfulness that the Catholic Church in England was poor.

Meanwhile, he was being led to the conviction that the theory of "branch Churches," which he and the

¹ *England and Christendom*, p. 123.

majority of High Churchmen held, was untenable except as an anomaly, justifiable only in consequence of the "signs of life" which he recognized in the Church of England. He gradually adopted Catholic doctrines and devotions; the number of those who came to him as a confessor and director increased; and the only spiritual books which he could recommend for their use were by Catholic authors, such as the *Spiritual Combat*, St. Francis of Sales' *Treatise on the Love of God*, the *Interior Christian*, and, above all, the *Paradise of the Christian Soul*.

The late Father Lockhart thus describes his confessing to Archdeacon Manning (about 1842): "Taking the keys of the church (Merton College Chapel), we entered that beautiful gem of fourteenth century Gothic. . . . When we were alone, he locked the door, and, having put on his surplice, he led me to the altar rails and made me kneel there. He read over me, from the large folio service-book, the prayer, 'Renew in him, most loving Father,' etc. I have never forgotten the deep seriousness of those moments. Then I made my confession, but in a most imperfect manner."

CHAPTER VI.

VISIT TO THE CONTINENT. THE GORHAM JUDGMENT. SUBMISSION.

OVERWORK, and the anxieties inseparable from Archdeacon Manning's position in those troubled times, had, by the beginning of 1847, told upon his health. A prolonged change being necessary, he went abroad with his brother-in-law and sister (Colonel and Mrs. Austen). Starting in July of that year, they travelled leisurely through Belgium and great part of Germany; arriving in Rome in the spring of 1848, and returning home through France.

During this tour, Archdeacon Manning had ample opportunities of making himself practically acquainted with the details of Catholic teaching and devotion. He attended the religious services wherever he went, and saw much of the clergy. Their explanations tended to remove the difficulties inseparable from an imperfect knowledge of the actual working of the Church;—such, for instance as the effect of Benediction and Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament in maintaining a lively faith in the Incarnation.

The day before he left Rome, in May, 1848, he was presented to Pius IX., who, thirty years later, on his death-bed, reminded the Cardinal of the circumstances of their first meeting. The Holy Father, with the unfailing tact which

distinguished him, spoke warmly of the labours of Mrs. Fry, and added: "When men do good works, God gives grace. I pray every day for the conversion of England." He asked his visitor what was his position in the Anglican body, and, on being told, said with surprise: "What! have you too got Archdeacons? How strange!" (*Cosa curiosa assai!*)

On his return to England, two matters which we have already mentioned, claimed his attention,—the appointment of Dr. Hampden to the See of Hereford, and the educational policy of the Government. Both probably had their share in proving to him that the Establishment did not possess all the qualities which he had come to consider essential Notes of the true Church. He had advanced from the conception of "a visible Church, a witness for Christ, to the perception of its divine organization of Head and members, its indefectible life, indissoluble unity, infallible discernment and enunciation of the faith."

The complete truth seems to have revealed itself to him, as it so often has to others, quite abruptly. While reading Melchior Cano's great work, *De Locis Theologicis*, he first realized that if there is to be a revelation at all, there must also be a living teacher and judge; and that such judge must also be a Divine Person, the Holy Ghost, dwelling in the body of the Church as a whole, as well as in its several members.¹

¹The freshness, vigour, and clearness of Cano's work were admirably suited to bring conviction to Archdeacon Manning's mind; and many passages (*e.g.*, book iv. 4, or ii. 7) are exceedingly impressive.

This was shown by Cano to be the only possible explanation of the promises of Our Lord in the sixteenth chapter of St. John's Gospel, and of St. Paul's language in the Epistle to the Ephesians (iv. 4-17).

While the Archdeacon was engaged in weighing the evidence which pointed to the necessity of a living, infallible Church, a contention was arising, which was to demonstrate to him with equal force and certainty that the Anglican Establishment had no claim to such attributes. The main features of what is known as "the Gorham case" can be very briefly summed up. The Bishop of Exeter had, in 1848, declined to institute the Rev. G. C. Gorham to a living in his diocese, considering that clergyman held unsound views on the subject of baptismal regeneration. On the Bishop's persisting in his refusal, Mr. Gorham appealed in the first instance to the Dean of Arches, who upheld the Bishop. Mr. Gorham then went to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which, on 8th March, 1850, by a majority including the two Archbishops, directed the Dean of Arches to institute Mr. Gorham to the living.

Within a few days, namely on 12th March, the Archdeacon of Chichester, with thirteen other prominent members of the High Church party,—eight clergymen, and five laymen,—held a meeting at Mr. Hope's house, when, after a long and anxious discussion, continued during great part of the night, nine resolutions were drawn up, calling on the Church of England to free itself from a heresy im-

posed on it by the civil power. Thirteen signed the protest, Mr. Gladstone's position as a Privy Councillor being a bar to his doing so.

Archdeacon Manning was the first to sign, as he had throughout taken the lead. The spirit that animated him is shown by his question: "If, then, the Church of England does not clear itself of the Gorham judgment, we are all, I suppose, prepared to leave it?" But he, and all the other signatories, still believed that the Anglican body was a living branch of the Church of Christ, and expected that it would yet be able to clear itself, by some act of its spiritual pastors, of the heresy that had been legalized by the judgment of the Crown. It was either at this or some subsequent meeting that some one present suggested that if they had to leave the Church of England, they might found a Church of their own. To which the Archdeacon replied: "Three hundred years ago we left a good ship for a boat. I am not going to leave the boat for a tub!"

They awaited the issue of a bill introduced into the House of Lords, by the Bishop of London (Blomfield), to provide that the ultimate decision as to questions of doctrine should be transferred to the Upper House of Convocation. At the second reading, this bill was lost by 84 to 31; only four Bishops supporting it; the rest, including Canterbury, remaining neutral. The most vigorous speech in its defence was made by Bishop Wilberforce, who warned the House that unless some redress were given, "many who were gems in the Church of England

would leave it." The effect of his eloquence was probably lessened by his known bias in favour of the Royal Supremacy, which he thought this a specially propitious moment for asserting.

This failure to establish a spiritual court of appeal in the Anglican body convinced Archdeacon Manning that, if there was in the world an unerring guide and teacher of the faith, that guardian and teacher could not be found in the Church of England. This was so obviously the logical result of his well-known convictions, that his becoming a Catholic at once was expected, and it was said of him, as of so many other converts, that he was being hurried into the Church by the pressure of others.

He took pains to inform his friends that he was acting with the utmost calmness and deliberation, with the assistance of safe and able advisers. For some time he hoped, almost against hope, that he might see his way to remaining a member of the Anglican body. Thus, in June, 1850, he wrote to his sister, Mrs. Austen: "Let me tell you to believe nothing of me but what comes from me. The world has sent me long ago to Pius IX., but I am still here (Lavington), and if I may lay my bones under the sod in Lavington Churchyard with a soul clear before God, all the world could not move me."

Of those who were specially consulted by him during this time, two,—Mr. Gladstone and Archdeacon Harrison,—remained Anglicans; one,—Mr. Hope-Scott,—was received with him into the Church. The last named, like himself, "felt it due to the sacredness of truth, to the relations of

public and private confidence and friendship, to the trusts and duties of their past life, to the respect they owed to many, and lastly to themselves, to allow no passion or precipitation to bias or to hurry them in so momentous a crisis, in which a false step might affect, not themselves only, but many others, not only for this life, but for the life to come" (*England and Christendom*, p. 10).

Mr. Gladstone and Bishop Wilberforce, at any rate, soon realized what must be the issue. The latter wrote in September of the same year from Lavington: "My stay here has let me see much of Manning. Never has he been so affectionate, so open, so fully trusting with me. We have been together through his difficulties. But alas! it has left on my mind the full conviction that he is lost to us." He agreed with Mr. Gladstone that Archdeacon Manning had already, before the Gorham judgment, convinced himself, on the broad ground of historical inquiry; and that the issue of that case merely pointed the moral of what he had learned before. At this stage, Newman's *Essay on Development* became an effective help to him, removing objections and showing the real continuity that makes the true Church a living organism, to be the same in all ages, and yet adapts it to its environment in varying places and times. A great meeting, which he attended, was held in London on 23rd June to protest against the judgment; but he only spoke towards the close, with a moderation which contrasted strikingly with the vehemence of Archdeacon Denison and others. But he brought out very

clearly that he felt the time was come for acts, and not merely for brave words.

Still one more attempt Manning made to induce the clergy of the Established Church to free themselves from the stain of heresy. With R. Wilberforce and Dr. Mill he circulated a declaration that the Oath of Supremacy only obliged the conscience in matters of a civil, not of a spiritual kind. This was sent to 17,000 clergymen, but only some 1800 signed it. Such apathy, if not hostility, must have done much to convince the Archdeacon that the cause he had undertaken to serve was hopeless; and he must have been further shaken by the conversion of Mr. Allies, and by the very able book he wrote to justify it.

Meanwhile, a storm was rising which was to satisfy him that the Anglican body could speak loudly and unanimously enough when it recognized a real enemy. The establishment by Pius IX. of the Catholic Hierarchy in England raised a tempest against the so-called "Papal Aggression," the violence of which can hardly be conceived by those who have only lived in happier times. "The Church of England, bishops, clergy and laity . . . with an unanimity never known till then, not only protested against the Supremacy of the Holy See, but fell for protection at the feet of the Royal Supremacy. . . . An instinct told it that the supremacy of the Crown was the basis of its separate existence, and that it has no other shelter from the necessity and duty of submitting to the supremacy of the Universal Church." ¹

¹ *England and Christendom*, p. 13.

How this directly influenced the Archdeacon of Chichester will be seen in the following portions of a letter he wrote to Mr. Hope from Lavington, 23rd November, 1850: "Your last letter was a help to me, for I began to feel as if every man had gone to his own house and left the matter. . . . Since then, events have driven me to a decision. This Anti-Popery cry has seized my brethren, and they asked me to be convened. I must either resign at once, or convene them ministerially and express my dissent, the reasons of which would involve my resignation. I went to the Bishop and said this, and tendered my resignation. He was very kind, and wished me to take time; but I have written and made it final."

He presided at the meeting on 27th November, and gave the reasons for his resignation, and for his severing the ties which had united him to the clergy of the archdeaconry for seventeen years. From this time he remained only in lay communion in the Established Church; although the Bishop did not appoint his successor until April of the next year. Mr. Manning first intended to go abroad on leaving Lavington, to join Mr. Gladstone at Naples; but he finally decided to remain in London, with his half-sister, Mrs. Carey, at 44 Cadogan Place. He wrote thence soon after his arrival, in reply to a letter from Mr. Hope, in terms which show that both had practically made up their minds that it must either be "Rome, or licence of thought and will."

Before taking the final step, the two friends went

once more over the whole ground together, to satisfy themselves that there was no flaw. Mr. Manning continued to attend the services at St. Barnabas', Pimlico, and the chapel in Palace Street. Mr. (afterwards Fr.) Harper (S.J.) was at that time the incumbent of this chapel. He well remembered preaching the sermon which Fr. J. Morris has described as having such a decisive effect on Mr. Manning; and believed that the discourse owed much of its influence to his own state of indecision, which made him address the warnings of Our Lord to himself as much as to his hearers. There were No-Popery riots at this time, directed against St. Barnabas; and no one who knew Mr. Manning's high spirit and courage will be surprised to learn that he wished to address the rioters in the street.

Meanwhile he was passing through a period of very great suffering and anxiety. The separation from beloved relatives and friends, and the consciousness that he was causing them much pain, must have been almost unendurable to one whose affection was all the deeper because it was extremely reserved and undemonstrative:¹ and the abandonment of Lavington, with all its memories, must have added no little keenness to the suffering. Beyond all this was the fear that he might be sacrificing happiness in this life and the next to a chimæra; that he might be wrong in relying on arguments which did not convince so many

¹ About this time he was asked by one of his nieces: "Why do people call you cold?" To which he replied: "The truth is, my child, I feel so much that if I once expressed it, I should lose my self-control."

whose judgment he valued ; and that it might be an act of wilfulness to cast off his allegiance to the Church of England, which he had so devotedly loved and served. We can to some extent judge of the trial he was undergoing, by the signs of it which even his will could not repress. His health suffered ; and at this time he acquired the nervous twitching of the face which he never afterwards lost. To those who knew him well, another evidence of the severity of the struggle he underwent is yet more significant. It will seem almost incredible that one of so firm and self-reliant a character should ever have been brought, by any stress of suffering, to sue for the comfort and support of a friend. He almost entreats Mr. Hope that they "might keep together, and, whatever must be done, do it with a calm and deliberateness which shall give testimony that it is not done in lightness."

Some six months after their reception into the Catholic Church, looking back, he writes to the same friend : "How blessed an end ; as the soul said to Dante : '*E da martirio venni a questa pace*' (from martyrdom into this peace I came). . . . You do not need that I should say how sensibly I remember all your sympathy, which was the only human help in the time when we two went together through the trial which, to be known, must be endured."

But the long and careful investigation was at last complete. On Passion Sunday, 6th April, 1851, the two friends started from Mr. Manning's rooms at 14 Queen Street, for the Jesuits' house in Hill Street, and were received into the Church by Father Brown-

bill. From that moment, the doubts which had assailed Mr. Manning "up to the last opening of Fr. Brownbill's door," ceased for ever, and no shadow remained; a change so wonderful and inexplicable that all he could say of it in after years was: "One thing I know; that, whereas I was blind, now I see." At the moment the feeling of thankfulness was all he could speak of; as he wrote next day to Mr. Hope: "I feel as if I had no desire unfulfilled but to persevere in what God has given me for His Son's sake." Who shall venture to go further—to intrude with idle questionings upon the first moments of sacramental grace, and upon the communing of a chosen soul with God?

CHAPTER VII.

ROME AND BAYSWATER.

MR. MANNING'S conversion had been announced several times for some months past, but was as often contradicted, so that the blow fell on his friends as heavily as if it had been wholly unexpected. The feelings of those who were not High Churchmen and could judge impartially, are so well and so gracefully expressed by his fellow-Archdeacon, Julius Hare, that we cannot resist the pleasure of repeating them. In a charge delivered some months after Mr. Manning's submission to the Catholic Church, his late colleague spoke of him as "one whom we have all been accustomed to honour, to reverence, to love, . . . one to whose eloquence we have so often listened with delight, . . . one, the clearness of whose spiritual vision it seemed like presumption to distrust, and the purity of whose heart, the sanctity of whose motives, no man knowing him can question." While these words are remembered with gratitude, let the imputation of lower motives remain forgotten; they would now find no echo.

For the moment, Mr. Manning remained at 14 Queen Street; but he soon took up his abode at his brother's, Mr. C. Manning's, at Pendell Court, near Bletchingley, in Surrey, where he was welcomed in

spite of the step he had just taken. This act of kindness and charity met with its reward. Mr. C. Manning and all his family followed him into the Church—Mrs. Manning on 14th June; himself and his children, during the next winter, in Rome. The future Cardinal kept his rooms in London, as a place where he could see the many persons who had looked to him for guidance in his Anglican days, and who now, shaken by the course of events, sought his advice in their difficulties. Partly in order that he might assist these more effectually, but still more because he had no doubt of Mr. Manning's vocation, Cardinal Wiseman gave him the tonsure a week after his reception into the Church, and dispensed with the usual *interstitia* between the Orders, so that he conferred the priesthood on the recent convert on Trinity Sunday, 14th June.

On the 16th he said his first Mass, having been instructed in the ceremonies by Father Faber; the assistant-priest being the well-known Father de Ravignan. The Jesuit Fathers placed a confessional at his disposal during that and the succeeding summers, when he often preached or gave conferences in their church at Farm Street. In November of the same year, 1851, Pius IX. received him with affection, this being the beginning of an intimate friendship that the Pope encouraged, and which the Cardinal afterwards treasured as one of the greatest blessings of his life. On the Holy Father's advice, he entered the Accademia dei Nobili Ecclesiastici to prosecute his theological studies by attending the lectures, at the Roman College, of

the celebrated professors Perrone and Passaglia. During this and the two following winters he might be seen, day after day, on the lecture-room benches with the youthful students, like a second St. Ignatius; following his teachers with great attention, and reading the text-books with a care which is shown by their numerous marks and annotations in his hand. He fully realized that no amount of private study could take the place of attendance on a systematic course of lectures, and he continued to follow them until the completion of his course in 1854, when the Holy Father conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity.

During the summers of the same years he returned to England, staying at first with Mr. Hope-Scott and other friends, or in lodgings; then, during 1853 and afterwards, with his late wife's aunt, Mrs. Roberts, at 78 South Audley Street. At this time began the series of conversions of which he was the instrument, which continued till the end of his life, one of the first being that of Mr. Badeley, the eminent ecclesiastical lawyer. It is believed that he kept no record of the number of his converts, but it must have been very considerable. For long periods he is known to have received two, three, or even more, each week; and at the time of his elevation to the episcopate it was generally stated that he had received more persons into the Church than any other priest.

He preached regularly, most frequently at Farm Street, but often in other parts of London, and thus became practically acquainted with the needs of the

diocese he was afterwards called upon to govern. It appears from a letter to Mr. Hope-Scott that, by 1854, he had become convinced of the need of a Congregation of secular priests who should be at the call of the Bishop, to undertake any work in the diocese and yet have the advantage and support that a community life could alone give. Cardinal Wiseman warmly approved the project; and, it is believed, himself suggested the Milanese Congregation of Oblates founded by St. Charles Borromeo, as a suitable model for imitation. In December, 1856, Dr. Manning visited the Oblates at Milan, with his nephew, the Rev. W. Manning, who was to join him in the proposed Community. The result of his visit was to satisfy him that the rule of the Milanese house could with some few alterations be adapted to the needs of Westminster. Dr. Manning and his nephew then went on to Rome to obtain the approval of the Pope, and this was readily granted.

Besides this approval of the Holy Father, the proposed undertaking was also marked for Dr. Manning with the heaviest blow that had fallen upon him since he became a Catholic. Archdeacon Robert Wilberforce, confessedly the ablest member of a gifted family, had been received into the Church in 1854, had gone to the Accademia to study for the priesthood, and was to have joined Dr. Manning in his undertaking. But the climate of Rome proved fatal to him, as to so many other Englishmen; he had to leave the Accademia, and died at Albano, in February, 1857. Dr. Manning was destined soon after to lose another associate of his Anglican days

who had followed him into the Church. Mr. C. La Primaudaye had been his curate at Graffham, joined his new community, and died in Rome, where he had gone to prosecute his studies. About this time, *i.e.*, early in 1857, Dr. Whitty, Provost of Westminster, resigned, in order to enter the Society of Jesus. According to the terms of foundation of all the English Chapters, the patronage lay with the Pope, and he appointed Dr. Manning to the vacant post. Dr. Manning established himself and his new community in a house adjoining St. Mary of the Angels, on 31st May, 1857 (Whitsun Day); and, on 2nd July, the church was solemnly opened by Cardinal Wiseman. This day was rendered all the more auspicious to Dr. Manning from its being marked by the dedication of Dr. Newman's *Occasional Sermons*;—a mark of sympathy peculiarly acceptable to him.

For the next eight years his life was twofold. He was the superior of a religious family, as well as a hard-working parish priest. A very touching account of his character as superior was given shortly after his death, by one of the few who would be competent to speak,—the Rev. Dr. Butler. "It is far too soon," he said, "for those who have lived under the powerful sway of his personal influence to turn and reflect on that influence so as to give an account of it, and to analyze its workings. . . . The charm will not die gradually away, because the secret of so holy a power upon our lives, of so holy a light penetrating and shining through our minds, was the breath of God's Holy Spirit, the same Divine Comforter ever present in the true pastors of God's flock,

who made the disciples of St. Paul so love him, that, falling upon his neck, they kissed him, grieving most of all because of that word that they should see his face no more.”¹

Some idea of his life as a parish priest may be attempted, however inadequately; it will at least serve to recall many happy memories to those who were privileged to live under his pastoral care. As a preacher this was perhaps his time of greatest fertility and success. His method and style remained very much what they were in his Anglican days, although the scope of his subject-matter was widened by the much greater variety of topics on which he could dwell. It is the lack of this variety which gives Catholics an impression of monotony in most Anglican sermons. There was no change in his language, such as that observable between the greater elaborateness of Cardinal Newman's *Discourses to Mixed Congregations* and the comparative simplicity of his earlier sermons. Any discernible difference is rather in the opposite direction; Dr. Manning's Catholic sermons being for the most part more simple, direct, and unadorned than his Anglican ones. This was partly owing to his deliberate intention of avoiding all ornament, or, indeed, any previous choice of language; but it was also due to his fear of the unreality which so often lurks under an appeal to the emotions. He constantly impressed upon his hearers the necessity of self-control. Fervour, he was wont to say, does not mean intensity

¹ See the whole sermon in the *Memorials of Cardinal Manning*, published at the time of his death.

of feeling, but an earnest surrender of the soul to the influence of Divine Grace, and perseverance in keeping to the narrow path of the love and service of God. But although the words in his discourses were not premeditated, the form and sequence of thought in them were fitted into a framework, carefully elaborate even to minute details.

There must be many who will remember the characteristics of his sermons;—their beauty, elevation, and pathos,—the more impressive, because the full strength of these qualities was felt to be so completely kept in reserve. The series of discourses on the *Veni Creator*, which were the first sketch, as it were, of his two works on the Holy Ghost, may be mentioned as an instance. Probably the most interesting of all were his conferences of ten or fifteen minutes between two of the earlier Masses on Sundays, their familiar character allowing a freer expression of his intimate thoughts. Any further attempt to describe his preaching would be vain: to those who have not known it. No description can convey the charm of his voice and presence, or portray the brightness that lit up his spiritualized countenance.

Preaching was so natural to him, that it demanded much less of his time and labour than did his separate care of individual souls. The number of his converts continued to increase, to say nothing of so many others who sought his advice. He thus almost of necessity became the director of very many persons needing spiritual guidance. In this, he made it his leading principle to leave each soul as

far as might be to the undisturbed guidance of the Holy Spirit; and he often quoted the saying of Bossuet: "The use of a director is to enable the penitent to do without one." A book he frequently recommended was Lallemand's *Spiritual Doctrine*, because it brings into such clear relief the action of the Holy Ghost upon the soul in its progress towards perfection.

One proof of the constant zeal with which he fulfilled his vocation as a director is still in great measure preserved. The correspondence with his penitents, and with others who sought his guidance from a distance, continued to increase until the end of his life, and would alone have taxed heavily the time and energies of any ordinary parish priest; yet he carried it on under the multifarious occupations of the episcopate. Nor is anything more remarkable than the almost endless power he had of varying and illustrating his advice; so that although the matter of many letters was necessarily the same, the way in which it was expressed gave it the force of originality and novelty. A good example of his use of humour in enforcing his arguments may be given in the parody he often repeated of Pope's well-known couplet:—

"For forms and creeds let graceless zealots fight
He can't be wrong whose life is in the right;"

read thus by the Archbishop:—

"For charts and compasses let graceless zealots fight:
He can't go wrong who steers the ship aright."

It is to be hoped that a selection from his letters as

a director may be published before the lapse of time diminishes their number; they would be of value, not only for their own sake, but as most faithfully reflecting his own spirit and character.

At the beginning of 1860, the question of the Temporal Power of the Holy See having entered on a critical phase, Dr. Manning in three lectures afterwards put together in a small volume, addressed himself to demonstrating its Divine origin, its necessity for the full and free exercise of the functions of the Holy See, and, finally, the logical and historical dependence of the civil order of Christendom on the Papal Sovereignty. He was confident that "the day will come when prince and people, nations and their statesmen, will recognize in the Temporal Power of the Holy See a Divine provision for the maintenance and order of the Christian world, and will return to it as . . . the only preservation against the rising tide of revolution" (*The Temporal Power*, lect. iii.). Nor, though he lived nearly a quarter of a century after the occupation of Rome by the Italian Government, did he ever waver in his confidence that the Temporal Power would one day be restored. His views on this subject changed considerably very soon after the Italian usurpation. It was a change, not of object, but of the means of carrying that object out. Like most men of practical genius he was wont to lose no time in regrets which he thought useless, but set himself to look for some other means of obtaining the end he had at heart. The only effect of the lapse of time was to convince him more and more that the restoration was to be

looked for, not so much by the intervention of States from without as by the spontaneous action of the Italians and especially of the people of Rome. From the beginning of the strife he had foreseen likelihood of such a termination, and believed that it would be now, as it had been on former occasions, when "the very hands which drove the Pope away from Rome restored him to it."

When Dr. Manning was on a visit to Rome in 1860, Pius IX. conferred on him the dignity of Protonotary Apostolic, the highest grade of the prelacy, carrying with it the right to pontificate on certain occasions; a privilege he hardly ever exercised.

From the time of his taking up his abode at Bayswater until he succeeded to the Archbishopric, he occupied a foremost place in the life of the Church in London. When, in 1861, Cardinal Wiseman established in his diocese a branch of the Roman Accademia, to study and illustrate the relations of science, art, and literature to the Church, he appointed Dr. Manning to be its head, and deputed him to read the inaugural address which he himself was prevented by illness from delivering in person. In 1862, when the *Dublin Review* was re-organized by Cardinal Wiseman, and Dr. Ward was induced to accept the editorship, Dr. Manning was named as one of the three theological assessors to whom Dr. Ward was to submit anything which he might think required censorship. From this time until almost the end of his life he was an occasional contributor to its pages; one of his most touching and graceful articles being a notice of Father Faber,

in 1864. Nor did he entirely neglect the field of controversy, though he publicly intervened much less often than might have been expected. But in 1864 he departed from his usual reticence and published three letters,—afterwards incorporated in *England and Christendom*,—to point the moral he had formerly drawn from the Gorham case, and to apply it to the still more obvious proof of the entire dependence of Anglicanism on the law, afforded by the decision on the *Essays and Reviews*.



ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER.

CHAPTER VIII.

WESTMINSTER.

THE time had arrived when Dr. Manning was to be called to the government of the chief See in this country. The account given by Father Morris of this period of his life is so admirable that we are glad to be able to refer our readers to it for all but a few details ; it will be found in the Appendix.

Though Cardinal Wiseman's illness had long been known to be extremely critical, its sudden increase of gravity took every one by surprise. When Dr. Manning left for Rome on the 12th of January, 1865, he left the Cardinal apparently in better health than he had been for a long time. Before he had been a fortnight in Rome he received a telegram, sent at the Cardinal's desire, summoning him to England without delay. He returned with all speed, but only arrived in time "to receive a gaze of recognition and his blessing." He was thus also able to render the last service to his great predecessor, and to carry out his last wish by preaching the sermon at his requiem.

Dr. Manning had reason to anticipate that the vacancy in the See of Westminster would be otherwise provided for, so that his own nomination came upon him as a complete surprise. The first intima-

tion that those who were about him had of it was from his nephew, Father Manning, who found him in tears before the Blessed Sacrament. His sense of the trials and burdens of the episcopate was shown by his selecting Challoner's account of the *English Martyrs* for his spiritual reading, during the retreat before his Consecration.

He was consecrated by Dr. Ullathorne, the Bishop of Birmingham, on 8th June, the day that had previously been chosen to celebrate his predecessor's jubilee. The sermon was preached by Bishop Amherst, of Northampton, on the text, Wisdom i. 7;¹ and,—whether intentionally or not,—treated of the Holy Spirit, the dearest object of Archbishop Manning's devotion. He was in ill health at the time; and this, added to the fatigue and long fasting of the occasion, caused him to look so extremely pale and worn that many must have felt what was too audibly expressed by a woman in the crowd: "Why," she asked, as he passed down the church giving his blessing to the people: "Why have they given us an Archbishop with one foot in the grave?" He heard the exclamation, and said to one next to him: "I think I have a dozen more years of work in me yet!" This forecast fell far short of the mark; but in his first pastoral the thought recurs that the years before him must be few.

The presence of Dr. Newman at the ceremony was a very lively satisfaction to the Archbishop; and, as he said to him at the time, he hoped it might be the

¹ "The Spirit of the Lord hath filled the whole world; and that which containeth all things hath knowledge of His voice."

beginning of greater frequency than heretofore in his visits to London. The Archbishop had felt much the separation resulting from their divergency of attitude in regard to the Liberal movement within the Church which had spread from Germany and France to England. This Liberalism among Catholics, as such, came to be represented here, first by the *Rambler*, and then by the *Home and Foreign Review*; as a counterpoise to which, Cardinal Wiseman called upon Dr. Ward to edit, and Provost Manning to assist in, a new series of the *Dublin Review*. Enough has already been said of this incident, and it would be far beyond the scope of the present sketch to enter on the long controversy that ensued. The whole is admirably given in Mr. Wilfrid Ward's *Memoir of his father and of the "Catholic Revival,"* which at the same time accurately describes the relations of the Archbishop in regard to the other parties. The two future Cardinals may, in fact, be said to have occupied the Right and Left Centres in a controversy of which the extreme right and left were represented respectively by the editors of the *Univers* and of the *Home and Foreign Review*. For instance, Dr. Newman, though by no means blind to the shortcomings of the Munich School, recognized the services which Döllinger and some of his followers had rendered to the Church, and had a sympathy with them which he did not feel for the French school of Montalembert, Lacordaire, and others. The Archbishop, on the other hand, was out of harmony with the German, but sympathized with the French Liberal party, whose desire to conciliate the claims of

the Church and modern democracy strongly appealed to him. Thus he spoke with unvarying affection of Father Gratry, and expressed great joy at his acceptance of the Vatican decrees. His differences from Dr. Ward, although mainly on matters of detail, were not unimportant. He felt very strongly that no unauthorized claims should be made to a right of interpretation of Pontifical acts; he was also decided in his opinion that the "principles of '89" did not find themselves condemned, at any rate explicitly, by the Papal pronouncements. But these and other differences were scarcely recognized during the Archbishop's life-time. With him, as with all other Englishmen who are accustomed to act with a party, it was a first principle to suppress all minor divergences from those who were fighting for what he regarded as vital points, and he bore with great equanimity the blame for opinions and language accredited to him by others, but which he did not share.¹

At the desire of the Holy Father, the Archbishop went to Rome to receive the Pallium, returning to England in the autumn, to be enthroned at the Pro-Cathedral on 8th November. One of the first matters claiming his attention, even before his con-

¹ A striking instance of this may be noted in the relations of Cardinal Manning with Mr. W. T. Stead. Few probably knew that they were not in harmony in the movement with which the Cardinal identified himself. But at the time of his death, Mr. Stead,—much to his own honour,—stated that the Cardinal had rebuked him privately for much that he passed over publicly in silence.

secration, was to preside at a meeting to raise a memorial of his predecessor, Cardinal Wiseman. It had been already determined that this should take the form of a Cathedral for Westminster. The Archbishop cordially associated himself with the project, and subscribed towards it a thousand pounds. At the same time he took occasion to bring forward a work which he felt to be of much greater urgency, and this was providing for the education of the poor Catholic children of London, and removing them from the non-Catholic influences which surrounded them. This work, in one way or another, was destined to have the first claim upon his energies and labours during the whole of his long pontificate, and, under his fostering hand, it gradually attained proportions that, when he first undertook it, he could not have foreseen. His first care was to establish orphanages for children without Catholic relatives or friends, the number of whom he estimated at 20,000. Twenty-five years later, in a Lenten Pastoral Letter, he was able to announce that the poor children of his diocese were provided for as follow: (1) 23,599 were on the books of the parochial schools; (2) after a long struggle, thirty-three Metropolitan Boards of Guardians had been brought to follow, slowly and reluctantly, the example of the Strand Union, and, between 1868 and 1889, had transferred the 10,000 workhouse Catholic children to Catholic schools; (3) while, in the homes for both sexes in the diocese, 4542 children had been entirely provided for during the same period.

So much could not have been done save with the

generous help of Catholics, especially of the higher classes. This he was the first to admit and enlarge upon with gladness; but who shall tell his own constant and unwearied labours of voice and pen, his struggles with Guardians and other Protestant authorities, the devotion of all his great experience of men and affairs to this cause which lay nearest to his heart? When the Free Education Act of 1891 was passed, he saw the partial success of what he had been urging for so many years, but he did not on that account relax his efforts, and indeed was occupied with a matter connected with education,—the superannuation of teachers,—at the very time of his death. As Mr. Hutton, who will not be suspected of partiality, has said: “It was a splendid example of the victory which organization and quiet persistence in a definite policy are able to gain over forces that are in themselves distinctly superior. If Manning had done nothing else for the cause of Catholicism in England, he would deserve the grateful remembrance of Catholics for what he did in this matter.”

Another trouble which confronted him when he first occupied the archiepiscopal see, was the condition of Ireland, and of the great mass of the Irish poor in London. Owing to the spread of Fenianism, and still more to the sympathy with it among the much larger number of those who were not themselves formally members of that secret society, there was a very real and practical danger lest a large proportion of the Irish in London should throw off altogether their obedience to the Church, and be-

come a danger to the State. This had been recognized by him before he left Bayswater; but the subject assumed greater importance in his eyes after his consecration. It appears to have been in his mind—perhaps almost unconsciously—as one of the advantages of such an organization as the “League of the Cross,” that it would, as at any rate it did, very successfully take the place of Fenianism when that illegal society began to break up. But, with a statesman’s instinct, he went farther, and felt that mere repression was not enough; that grievances must be removed, or at least seriously considered, and that it could never be safe to yield to clamour what was refused to argument. The immediate outcome of these convictions was his well-known letter to Earl Grey, of which the arguments, used with studied moderation, had their influence in shaping the course taken by the Act for the disestablishment of the Protestant Church in Ireland.

In 1868, the Archbishop was able to secure a site for the future Cathedral in Westminster; but before any house, even for his own use, could be erected, he was enabled to purchase a building that had been provided as an “Institute” for the Guards, and which will always be connected with his memory under the name of “Archbishop’s House.” Thither he removed from York Place in March, 1873, having thus provided ample accommodation for the work of the See. Later on, he was enabled to secure a much better site for the Cathedral; but he could not do more himself, and was glad to let the ground be

used as a playground by the poor children of a soldiers' Home near by. He was greatly touched by these little ones bringing him a nosegay on his birthday as a token of their gratitude.

During this period of his episcopate, Archbishop Manning began that struggle with the evil of drunkenness,—a successful struggle which only ended with his life. Mr. Kegan Paul¹ has made this part of the Cardinal's pastoral labours so easily accessible to every one, that we need here do little more than allude to his untiring zeal in the cause of total abstinence. His connection with the temperance movement is a marked instance of how the ordinary observer was misled into thinking him hasty and impulsive, by the vigour and decision with which he acted upon convictions as soon as he had formed them, although they had been reached by cautious and even timid steps. He tells us that, until about 1866, he had never realized the full extent of the evil wrought by intemperance. It was first brought to his notice by a deputation who laid the whole subject before him. Having, in the course of 1853-4, studied the question in the Reports of a Committee of the House of Commons, he arrived at the conviction that it was his duty to take up the cause of temperance, and accepted the recommendation that those who had given way to drunkenness should be encouraged to take the pledge of total abstinence. By 1871 he had further laid it down in his Lenten Pastoral that unnecessary drinking, short of intoxication, was a greater, because a more

¹ *Temperance Speeches of Cardinal Manning* (C.T.S., price 1s.).

insidious evil, than drunkenness itself. From this to taking the pledge was, with him, but a step. He took it in 1873, and encouraged all over whom he had any authority to do the same; but it was characteristic of him that he pressed no one to join him in his crusade.

CHAPTER IX.

THE VATICAN COUNCIL. THE CARDINALATE.

IT might seem that the matters just mentioned, over and above the ordinary but onerous labours and cares inseparable from the administration of his diocese, would have sufficed for the energies of even Archbishop Manning : in addition to all these, however, he was during the early years of his episcopacy engaged in a continual and arduous defence of the Temporal Power, which was threatened and assailed with ever-increasing violence. After the fall of Rome in 1870, the attacks against the Temporal Power entered on a new phase, but before that date another subject of the utmost gravity and importance had come forward. Archbishop Manning was one of the five hundred bishops who assembled in 1867 to take part in celebrating the eighteenth centenary of SS. Peter and Paul ; and was therefore present when Pope Pius IX. announced his intention to convoke a General Council. The Archbishop intuitively recognized that a precise definition of Papal Infallibility, although not included among the subjects at first propounded for consideration, would inevitably come within the scope of the Council. Never since his reception into the Church had the slightest doubt of the truth of this dogma crossed

his mind, and he was convinced that the time had come for its definition.

“To him,”—as the Bishop of Newport and Menevia said, in his profound and eloquent sermon at the Cardinal’s Requiem,—“the Vicar of Christ’s Infallibility, when addressing the Universal Church on faith or morals, was the logical outcome of the Redeemer’s promise that against her the gates of Hell should never prevail.” This logical consistency was fully recognized at the time by such impartial judges as some of the English newspapers. The *Times*, for instance, took “an honest pride in contemplating the straightforward course of our own countryman.” The Archbishop, who held strongly, not only the opportuneness, but the urgent need for the definition, was intensely anxious until the question was decided. His three Pastoral Letters, afterwards put together under the title *Petri Privilegium*, did much towards removing prejudices and misconceptions. His sermons did still more; but he saw from the first that the principal field of conflict would not be in this country.

He left for Rome in the autumn of 1869, arrived there by the time of the opening of the Council on 8th December, and was at once put on the Committee “De Fide,” which had to do with questions of dogma. To this committee, in March, 1870, was referred the question of Papal Infallibility, which at once became the chief matter under discussion. At the end of May, the Archbishop addressed the Committee on the subject, in a speech which produced a great effect. After an exhaustive discussion, the

Decree passed the whole Council on the 18th of July, —the day before the breaking out of the Franco-German War.

Besides this main question, the Council also decided several other points; such as the evidences of the existence of God, and the text and interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. In all of these questions the Archbishop took a very considerable part, and his knowledge of non-Catholics was of essential service. To him, however, the definition of the Infallibility was the matter of primary importance, and he regarded his share in it as the greatest privilege of his life. On the day before his death, when making his profession of faith before the assembled Canons, he repeated with especial clearness and emphasis the clause declaring his acceptance of the Vatican Decrees.

In 1878, he wrote "The True Story of the Vatican Council," in the *Nineteenth Century*, in reply to certain incorrect statements that had obtained credence. Since then, non-Catholics seem to have abandoned the attack, so that it need only be remarked that the Archbishop's account is fully confirmed by all that has been subsequently published. A more indirect, but more serious attack had been made four years before. Mr. Gladstone, on being driven from office in 1874, put out a pamphlet to show that Catholics who accepted the Vatican Decrees could not be loyal citizens. The Archbishop at once protested in the papers, and shortly after published a more detailed reply. Here, again, we need not stir the embers of a controversy

which has long since died out. Mr. Gladstone himself withdrawing the charges he had made, the controversy has left one enduring legacy to us—it has enriched our Catholic literature with Dr. Newman's "Letter to the Duke of Norfolk."

In the beginning of 1875, the Archbishop was summoned to Rome to receive the scarlet. He left London on 4th March, accompanied by his nephew, the Rev. William Manning, and remained in Rome until the end of the month. In the Consistory held on the 15th he was created Cardinal; the formal announcement being made to him at the English College, where he was staying. His reply to it perfectly expressed the feelings he had already manifested to his most intimate friends, in regard to the office of the Cardinalate. "It is truly an honour," he said, "to be associated with the Sacred Council immediately around the Vicar of Our Lord, and to share his lot in good and evil. Indeed, I would rather this dignity fell on me, as it does, in the time of danger than the time of safety. It is, as it were, being told off to the forlorn hope in the sight of the world, but it is a forlorn hope which is certain of victory. I feel that your presence here this day is a representation of England, and that your kindness to me proceeds from love to England."

After the usual ceremonies in the public Consistory on 28th March, he took possession of the Church that had been assigned to him by the Holy Father. This, by a happy appropriateness, was the Church of SS. Andrew and Gregory on the Cœlian Hill; once the house of St. Gregory the Great, whence St.

Augustine and his companions had been sent to convert England. The numerous company assembled on the occasion included many non-Catholics, one of whom at least,—Archdeacon Hannah,—described the impression made upon him by the scene, with all its historical associations, as a fitting background to the Cardinal's figure, which, most striking anywhere, was doubly impressive in such a setting.

After this ceremony he returned at once to England, continuing the same manner of life as before his elevation. Even his autumnal holidays were occupied in public speaking and preaching, so that the only breaks in his labour were his visits to Rome. One of these was so important as to require a separate description.

CHAPTER X.

DEATH OF PIUS IX. THE CONCLAVE. LEO XIII.

IN November, 1877, the Cardinal left England to fulfil one of his canonical visits *ad limina Apostolorum*, but was taken ill in Paris, and would have returned to England if he had not been advised from Rome that the health of Pius IX. was visibly declining, and that it would be well for him to prosecute his journey without delay. He arrived at Rome on the 22nd of December, and found the Holy Father on what proved to be his death-bed. The Sovereign Pontiff lingered for six weeks, dying on 7th February of the next year. During all that time, the Cardinal had the inexpressible happiness of watching constantly by the sick bed of one who was Master and Father as well as his dearest friend. "No subject," he afterwards told his clergy, "of his manifold and great anxieties was ever spoken of; no business, however slight, was ever introduced. . . . I had the happiness of conversing with him only on such thoughts and things as were consoling and cheerful and free from anxious care." He very rarely spoke of the personal loss to himself that the death of Pius IX. must have been, but there can be no doubt that he recognized it as irreparable. He had reached an age at which new friendships are hardly possible. Much happiness may be derived by one in Cardinal

Manning's position from the parental relations of a bishop to his flock, and of a great Shepherd of Souls towards those whom he rescued from a life of sin, or led from the darkness without into the noonday brightness of the Church, and of such happiness he must have enjoyed a share much larger than falls to the lot of most pastors; but the mutual sympathy which is the basis of friendship, needs a freedom of intercourse which is hardly possible between superior and inferior, and a length of time which is denied to the aged.

If anything could console him, it would be the result of the Conclave which followed the Pope's decease. Some English newspaper correspondents put it about that Cardinal Manning was endeavouring to secure his own election, or that of some candidate of his choice, by violent language and behaviour. The only result of this fabrication was to supply material for banter to some members of the Sacred College. After the election of Leo XIII., Cardinal Manning had the happiness of finding many of his most cherished convictions stated with authority in the series of Encyclicals for which the present pontificate will ever be distinguished. In particular, the joy is still remembered with which he welcomed the Brief "*Sæpe numero*," of which he foresaw the happy effect in stimulating Catholics to the accurate study of history. Still more important is his relation to the Encyclical on the Conditions of Labour. The Bishop of Newport, who speaks in this case with the highest authority, said in his funeral eulogy, that this Encyclical "owes something,

beyond all doubt, to the counsels of Cardinal Manning. And there is one sentence in that letter, which, if not his in form, most certainly expresses his conviction: 'There is a dictate of Nature more imperious and more ancient than any bargain between man and man, that the remuneration of the wage-earner must be enough to support him in reasonable and frugal comfort.'"

So clear was his realization of the perpetual indwelling of the Holy Spirit in the Church, and of the Divine assistance promised to its Head, that he almost welcomed the accounts in history of scandals, which, in days less happy than ours, have tarnished the lustre of the Pontifical Throne. "*Merses profundo pulchrior evenit*," he said: "Had the Church been spared the unworthiness of some of its ministers, its Divine mission would not have been put to the hardest test." The same lively faith would have made him welcome beyond all human praise two sentences in Dr. Hedley's discourse: "Our Holy Father loved him and leaned upon him. I have heard him speak with his own lips of the wise advice and useful information he received from the Cardinal Archbishop. The Holy See never had a more staunch or more persistent defender."

Only two other of Cardinal Manning's visits to Rome call for mention here: one in 1878, when his nephew, Fr. Manning, was raised to the prelature; the other, his last visit in 1883, when, after a rather prolonged illness, he was greatly cheered and revived by the affectionate welcome with which he was received by the Sovereign Pontiff.

CHAPTER XI.

THE LABOURS OF LATER YEARS.

No attempt can here be made to give even the barest account of the Cardinal's multifarious labours, which accumulated and increased as time went on. To do so would be to write, not the life of Cardinal Manning, but the social history of England in the last quarter of this century. We need only record such matters as throw a light on his character, or give some idea of the wide range covered by his activity.

Before his elevation to the episcopate, he had fully realized that the relations of English Catholics to their fellow-countrymen had been completely altered by one commanding genius. Before Cardinal Newman's conversion, we rarely, if ever, were allowed a hearing. Like the tailors of Laputa, men measured us from a distance, and came readily to the conclusion that we were all either fools or knaves. Cardinal Newman's conversion satisfied his countrymen that the classification was not quite exhaustive, and that we might have something to say for our existence. As Cardinal Manning at once perceived, our partial re-admission to the ordinary life of our country brought with it new responsibility. We had to bring before Englishmen

the Church in action, and to show that we could enter as fully as our fellow-citizens into the intellectual and social progress of England.

In one of the first steps which he took in this direction, he had been anticipated by his illustrious predecessor. As soon as the storm of the "Papal Aggression" mania had subsided, Cardinal Wiseman's literary attainments and wide culture led to his being asked to deliver lectures on non-religious topics. In 1872, his successor was invited to give a lecture at the Royal Institution: he readily complied, and chose for his subject, "The Dæmon of Socrates," which he treated as the personification of the prohibitory or negative office of conscience. The choice of subject was characteristic of one who always felt himself bound to testify to the truth; characteristic, too, was the absence of any display of learning in the lecture, though he had qualified himself for his task by very carefully reading the principal classical authors that bore upon his subject. It was interesting to remark how far his appreciation of these great writers was affected by the many years which had intervened before his taking them up again. The result was, on the whole, to increase his admiration,—already very great,—for Aristotle, and to confirm him in the scanty justice he meted out to Plato, whom he looked upon as fanciful, and given to "ballooning."

Another opportunity in the same direction, but of wider scope, was afforded him by the Metaphysical Society. It occurred to Mr. Knowles, the Editor of the *Nineteenth Century*, that much might be done to

remove prejudices and misunderstandings, by leaders of religious and of anti-religious thought meeting at regular periods to read and discuss papers on philosophical questions. Archbishop Manning being applied to, readily agreed to join, remarking that he had "no character to lose"; and on 11th April, 1869, he met Mr. Knowles and Lord Tennyson at Dr. Ward's house, to consider details. The society thus constituted lasted until 1880, attracting, during its existence, a good deal of notice, which was stimulated rather than satisfied by the more or less legendary accounts of it that appeared from time to time. The least inaccurate history of it is that given by Mr. Ward in the Life of his father. It was originally intended that the Society should chiefly consist of such persons as the Archbishop,—men of eminence in their respective lines, rather than specialists in philosophy; and one of the causes of its dissolution in 1880 was a too large infusion of the professorial and didactic element. Two or three of the members were not conspicuous for the *suaviter in modo*; and to those who knew the Cardinal well, it was remarkable to see how completely he ignored the incivility with which sometimes objections were urged, or opinions stated. Nor did he omit giving serious attention to the subjects discussed; thus, at one meeting, he had a lively controversy with, I think, Mr. Leslie Stephen, as to the reality of Berkeley's scepticism. The Cardinal, trusting to his recollection of what he had not read for many years, considered,—and many competent judges are of the same opinion,—that the doubts of the great metaphysician

were merely arguments to show that if the existence of God and of an immaterial soul be denied, there is no way of accounting for our knowledge of an external world. Before the next meeting he read over with care the passages on which he had relied, came to the conclusion that he had mistaken them, and accordingly at the next meeting withdrew what he had said. The Metaphysical Society, in the sixteen years of its existence, had fairly answered its purpose: it had cleared up many differences by friendly discussion, though, alas! it left untouched the more deeply-rooted elements of discord which in these days of confused thought divide the minds of men.

Any good thus effected was not however comparable to the happy influence which resulted from Cardinal Manning's large-hearted sympathy with every beneficent movement throughout the Empire. This may be said to have begun with his joining the upholders of total abstinence, and to have been fully established in 1871, when he took part in the Mansion House Committee for relieving the distress in Paris that followed the Franco-German war.

The barrier having been removed which, ever since he had been a Catholic, had excluded him from public life, he took the earliest opportunity to manifest what would be his attitude in regard to social questions. At a meeting of the Prisons' Congress, of which he was chairman, in 1872, he said: "Outside the circle and pale of that one subject (religion), I know of no other relating to our political, our public, our social, our industrial welfare, in which it

is not in my power to work with the same energy, and the same entire devotion, of heart and feeling, as any other man in England." One of the earliest movements with which he associated himself deserves special mention, as showing how consistently his sympathies had always been engaged in the service of the poor, during the seventeen years of his life at Lavington. At a meeting on behalf of the agricultural labourers, he said that he "knew them and their children, as well as he knew their scanty means of subsistence."

All his life he actively co-operated with every movement which aimed at the alleviation of social hardship or injustice ; but, not only this, the limitless and thorny waste scanned by the wistful eye of his far-reaching charity is indicated by his "Pleading for the Worthless," an article which he wrote in the *Nineteenth Century*, 1888, and which testified to the depth of his sympathy with the "submerged," a class of which he could have no previous knowledge, and who might seem to have been unlikely to claim the special interest of one so refined and sensitive, had not his charity outweighed every other thought.

The means by which he laboured for the elevation of the poor were as various as the objects aimed at. We find him serving on two Royal Commissions, taking part in public meetings almost innumerable, addressing workpeople in West End shops, or East End open air meetings, assisting by his counsel and encouragement the projectors of new ways of relieving distress, and mediating between employers and employed. But even his

great mental and physical vigour could not have sufficed for the herculean task he undertook after having passed the ordinary span of human life had not his previous experience been in great measure a preparation for it. From his early years he had been familiar with the conduct of public business, the routine of meetings, and the organization of societies; he had personally known most of the great orators of his time, and had watched the effects of their speeches and debates. More than this, he had himself tasted the *gaudia certaminis*, the delights of convincing or persuading an audience, and of wrestling in argument with his equals. All this made what is so laborious to most Englishmen, perfectly easy to him.

Closely connected with his social desires and aims, were his political opinions. They have been represented as ranging from Radicalism to Socialism; but the truth is that his politics,—like those of most men who are not professional politicians,—could hardly be expressed by any one term. In particular, there was mingled with his Liberal aspirations a strong vein of Conservative feeling. The same has been remarked of other English public men; for instance, of such a notable Radical as Cobbett. The statesman whom he would himself have mentioned as the fittest example of this combination of seemingly opposed tendencies, would probably have been Canning, whose great reputation, in the days of the Cardinal's youth, threw every other into shadow.

The most striking way in which his Conservatism showed itself was in his devotion to the person of the

Sovereign. This was no mere abstract loyalty to the Head of the State, the living impersonation of the historical continuity of this great Empire. Like so many men of his age, he had been profoundly touched, in early manhood, by the accession to the throne of an innocent young girl,—so complete a contrast to her immediate predecessors. As he said, fifty years later: “She awakened the spirit of personal loyalty and chivalry towards herself, a spirit which had seemed dead to the time and the people.” Those only who have heard him speak of his sense of the honour that was done him by his being presented to the Queen, at a garden party at Marlborough House, can realize his feeling.

His ardent patriotism, and his love of all that is called up into memory by the word “country,” was as great as his veneration for the Queen,—indeed, the two were indissolubly connected. “England,” he said, “has, for all its sons, a sweetness and a fascination both in its history and in its presence, which surpasses all other affections . . . rendered personal and intense by the intermingling of the love of friends and of kinsmen.”

His Liberalism, in like manner, was manifested by his earnest desire for the happiness and well-being of all his countrymen, and by his profound conviction that these results would be best attained by giving the people the fullest liberty to control their own affairs. The lengths to which these principles seemed at times likely to carry him led some persons to class him as a Socialist, in spite of his being very explicitly repudiated as such by pro-

fessed Socialists themselves, and of his own disclaimers. "There is," he said, "as great a difference between social organization and Socialism, as there is between reason and rationalism. Social organization is based on the sentiments of reciprocal duties, of the unity of the human race, and of the blessings of social union." The necessity for endeavouring to attain those advantages by legislation was, in his mind, the more urgent, because he had become more and more possessed with the fear that England had seen her most prosperous days, and that the depression of trade, which all have felt, would probably be permanent. It behoved us, therefore, to set our house in order, to remove every grievance that any class could allege, and so ward off the danger of revolutionary excesses. His attitude towards each succeeding Ministry was officially neutral, though his personal opinions were more or less generally known. During Lord Beaconsfield's last administration there was a *rapprochement* between him and Cardinal Manning, which was broken by the terms in which the Prime Minister appealed to the country. It is well known that the Cardinal did not agree with the first Home Rule Bill introduced by Mr. Gladstone, preferring the plan advocated by several of the dissentient members of the Liberal party; his chief objection to Mr. Gladstone's measure being the withdrawal of the Irish Members from the Imperial Parliament. On the other hand, he may in one sense be said to have been a "Home Ruler before Home Rule." His views on the subject dated from the Irish Disestablishment, and were greatly confirmed by the

failure of Mr. Gladstone's Irish University Bill in 1873. From that time, he advocated a large measure of autonomy for each of the three kingdoms which make up Great Britain and Ireland. Much of what he then sought to provide for was secured for England and Scotland by the County Councils Bill, which he spoke of as the most important piece of internal legislation since the Reform Bill of 1832. Towards the end of his life, an autonomy of the three kingdoms was in his mind, part of a great scheme of Imperial Federation, to include the colonies as well as the mother-country, and to provide for systematic emigration, and other means of meeting the ever-pressing problem, how to deal with the unemployed at home.

CHAPTER XII.

LAST YEARS.

THE celebration of Cardinal Manning's "Silver Jubilee,"—the twenty-fifth anniversary of his episcopal consecration—is the chief incident of his old age. It is not granted to many men to hear the recital of their labours of a quarter of a century; fewer still could bear to be reminded how little they had done for the glory of God or the happiness of their fellows. But nothing can be sweeter than the kindly wishes of friends that a useful life may be spared; and in his case the happiness of the occasion was undimmed by a single cloud. All the marks of sympathy and appreciation which came from so many quarters were most grateful to him. None, however, gave him more pleasure than the congratulations of his brethren in the episcopate, and the address presented to him by the clergy and laity of his own diocese; and his reply to the latter was, of course, most full of his personal feelings. In acknowledging the £7500 that accompanied the address, he said that he destined part of the sum to secure the comfort of those who had made his labours possible by their faithful service; another part was intended for the repair of his titular church in Rome, San Gregorio; and the remainder was to be devoted to diocesan purposes. He ended

by saying: "As I am rendering in all likelihood my last account to you, I will say two things: first, that I have never consciously or willingly wounded any man; secondly, that in many cases I have been bound by duty to act, not as my personal will, but as my office compelled me. The three works on which my heart has been set, have been the education of our children, the saving of our people by the Holy Sacraments, and the rearing and multiplication of priests true to their Divine Master. What little in these duties has been begun, my successor will, I hope, complete. . . . Much has passed through my hands in these five and twenty years. Nothing has stayed under this roof; all has gone into the work which has been entrusted to me. My desire is to die, as a priest ought, without money and without debts."

The money presented to him by the Trade Societies he set aside for endowing a bed in the London Hospital, to be called—as has been well said, "somewhat infelicitously,"—"the Thames bed." But the congratulations which he most prized were conveyed to him by Cardinal Lavigerie in the following words: "Our great and good Leo XIII. charges me to convey to you, as a token of the share he desires to take in your episcopal Jubilee, the large gold medal which I forward. I cannot now repeat to you, without offending your modesty, all the assurances of confidence and esteem with which the Vicar of Jesus Christ was pleased to accompany this mark of his paternal affection."

These labours, and the ever-increasing number of

persons who sought the Cardinal's advice on their private concerns, might have been thought enough to absorb completely any time that could be spared from his diocesan and ecclesiastical business. Yet he never seemed hurried; and gave his attention to each person who came before him as clearly and readily as if he had no other care in the world. Something of this was due, no doubt, to his living alone, but still more to a long-practised habit of fixing his attention on the matter immediately before him. The following example will show how far he carried this power. The proofs of *The Eternal Priesthood* came in one morning when I was staying with him. He worked at them all the morning, with interruptions every few minutes, and he never failed to take up the proof again where we had left off. In the afternoon we were otherwise occupied, but in the evening he began, as fresh as ever, and worked on for several hours, until I, at any rate, was obliged to own myself beaten.

This power of instantly concentrating his attention in any direction he wished, made it possible for him to continue his practices of mental and vocal prayer in the midst of all his occupations. He recited punctually the whole Divine Office until within a few days of his death; and, it is believed, hardly ever availed himself of the permission to anticipate or postpone any part of it. In like manner he said Mass daily, until within the last few weeks of his life, and ever with that rapt attention and devotion which seemed to open out fresh meanings in the words of the Sacred Liturgy, and to show forth to the

hearers a loftier ideal of the Adorable Sacrifice than any they had known before. Some who have had the privilege of assisting at the present Holy Father's Mass, say that his intense piety and recollection,—which have profoundly affected even the unbelieving or half-believing,¹—has reminded them most forcibly of Cardinal Manning when celebrating the Sacred Mysteries. Among other vocal prayers he recited daily, were the Rosary, and the well-known prayer to the Holy Spirit, which, Fr. Butler informs us, he said every day for thirty years. His mental prayer was based entirely on Holy Scripture, of which he was wont to read a portion each morning after his Mass and thanksgiving. He was in the habit of reading on until some verse or verses appealed to him, when he would break off, and dwell upon the passage at every spare moment of the day. In some instances, the same text,—I remember in particular Isaias lviii. 7-14,—served him for several days together.

By spending his evenings at home, and, to a great extent, alone, he managed to find time for a good deal of miscellaneous reading, as well as for the enormous number of letters he wrote. He saw almost all the principal books, and although a glance at many was sufficient, he read others with care and interest. This was especially the case with political memoirs; and his remarks on such books as the *Correspondence between Lord Grey and Princess Lieven* showed how wide had been his experience,

¹ See, for instance, the description given of Leo XIII.'s Mass in M. Bourget's *Cosmopolis*.

and how keen his observation of the world of politics. It is a sign of the simplicity of his character that he took a genuine pleasure in occasionally looking over children's books, especially those illustrated by Caldecott. The only other recreation he allowed himself resulted from his having been elected a member of the Athenæum Club, during his absence in Rome in 1870, under the rule which allows the Committee to choose distinguished men; and the opportunity thus afforded him of meeting old friends and making fresh acquaintances, he highly appreciated.

CHAPTER XIII.

DEATH.

ADVANCING years dealt very tenderly with the Cardinal. With the exception of deafness, which had grown upon him so slowly since middle life that he hardly realized its degree, he passed the term of threescore and ten before he showed any sign of old age. For some two years before his death he almost ceased to go out of doors; but this, and his precautions to keep his rooms warm and free from draughts, were to the last the only signs of the care required by the aged. His last appearance in public was when he opened the Conference organized by the Catholic Truth Society at Westminster in 1891, in which he took an especial interest. Before the formal re-establishment of the Society his approval was obtained for what then appeared a somewhat doubtful experiment, and this approval he continued to manifest to the end. The yearly and half-yearly meetings were held, at his express wish, at Archbishop's House, and on many of these occasions the Cardinal presided.

But although he did not feel the lapse of years in himself, it was brought home to him by the loss of those about him. The first to go was his Secretary, Fr. Guiron, whom he greatly

missed: then followed Newman, who had been his devoted servant for very many years, having previously lived in the same capacity with Cardinal Wiseman: and his other man-servant, Anthony, died from a fall on the staircase of Archbishop's House. The trial of being waited upon by servants who knew nothing of his habits must have been considerable at his age, but he showed no sign of being in any way inconvenienced, and settled the difficulty by taking his coachman to wait on him.

He passed through the unusually severe winter of 1890-1891 without any serious illness, and was the sole inmate of his house who, in the early part of the next winter, did not suffer from the unhealthiness of the season. On the 9th January, he felt the signs of what appeared to be nothing more than a feverish cold, no worse than many he had experienced before, and it required some persuasion to induce him to remain in bed next day. Finding him no better, the Bishop of Salford (the present Cardinal Archbishop), who was fortunately staying in the house, insisted on his seeing Mr. Tegart, a Catholic medical man who had attended Cardinal Wiseman, and whom Cardinal Manning had directed should be sent for whenever he needed medical advice. Mr. Tegart saw him on the 11th, recognized the gravity of the case, and called in Sir Andrew Clark, who gladly undertook to see his Eminence on the one condition that there should be no question of fees. It was clear to them that he was seriously ill, bronchitis, or rather, broncho-pneumonia, having developed; but he retained so much of his ordinary

vigour, and was so free from discomfort, that every one hoped for his recovery. On the next day there was very little change, but such as there was, was in an unfavourable direction. On the morning of the 13th the bronchitis had increased, and there were signs of heart-failure. It was, therefore, judged expedient to administer the Last Sacraments, and to allow him to make the usual profession of faith before the Chapter of the Archdiocese. This touching ceremony, and his saying farewell to the assembled Canons, fatigued him considerably, and an hour later he expressed himself as very tired; from this time, too, he had made up his mind that he was going to die, saying, in reply to some protest: "I have laid down the yoke;—I am at the end of life." No attempt had been made by his physicians to depart from his total abstinence principles, such stimulants as were thought necessary being administered in his medicines, which he took with great punctuality, until the afternoon of the 13th. He spoke but little, yet evidently retained the full exercise of his faculties until the end. When told, in answer to his inquiry, that the Duke of Clarence was better, he replied with much feeling, "Thank God!"

When Sir Andrew visited him in the evening, he was much impressed with the brightness and courtesy with which he was greeted by his illustrious patient. When he said, in taking leave, "I shall see your Eminence early to-morrow morning," the Cardinal asked, "Is it any use?" and on being assured that it was, he replied, with a very

graceful gesture of farewell, that he should be glad to see him.

From that time, his only occupation was preparation for the great change which he knew to be so imminent. He joined with great devotion in the prayers recited at his bedside, principally by the Bishop of Salford. Apparently he was most touched by the beautiful prayer of St. Jerome Emilian: "Sweetest Jesus, be not to me a judge but a Saviour." What his thoughts were we happily know from his letters, in which he had of late years dwelt upon death with increasing frequency and earnestness. For instance, he wrote thus to one of his nieces, whose director he had been from childhood: "I am sure that if we loved God more, and creatures less, we should always be longing to go to our eternal home, and the greatest grace would be to find ourselves in the hands of our Lord, when He begins to finish His work in us." And again: "It is pleasant to look back to quiet days, and to look on to an eternal rest. . . . Till we get to God, and His only rest, we shall find no rest; and if we could, it would not last."

Meanwhile, the difficulty of breathing increased. At six, he was evidently weaker, and the Bishop of Salford recited the Prayers for the Dying. A little later, he spoke for the last time, but so inarticulately that his meaning could not be understood. About seven o'clock the Bishop told him that he was going to offer the Holy Sacrifice for him. He clearly understood, and bowed his head in token of his thanks. A little before eight he failed rapidly; Canon Johnson

came up and read the last prayers; and he passed away a few minutes after eight, so quietly and peacefully that the precise moment when he ceased to breathe could not be determined with any certainty. This was on the 14th of January, 1892.

Beyond the veil that shrouds from us the powers of the world to come, it is not given to man to penetrate: happily Cardinal Manning has left for us his expectation of what awaits the soul after death, in words so beautiful that they must be quoted once more. "O wonder of love! O Friend all gentle, all pure, all wise; in whose Presence to abide, under whose loving gaze to dwell, is Heaven; shall we see indeed Thy beauty? O love, greater than love of man, Love of God, Love eternal which created me, suffered for me, died for me, bare with me in my long, blind, stubborn rebellions; spared, shielded, restrained, converted me by holy inspirations, and the pleadings of tender upbraiding,—do I now see Thee face to face?"

Any biography of the great and illustrious of this world would be incomplete without some account of the pomp and ceremony with which they are laid in the grave. Nor is there any lack of material for describing the last funeral rites of Cardinal Manning. On the contrary, the difficulty would be to choose among so many instances of the sympathy of every class and creed. It was to be expected that all who are of the household of the faith should be united in grief at a common loss, from Leo XIII., who exclaimed when told of the Cardinal's death: "A great light has been extinguished."—to the humblest of the

Cardinal's flock. These, to the number of some twenty thousand daily, went to pray beside his remains, while he lay in state: but it was without example in the history of the Church in England since the reformation that non-Catholics of every shade, Anglicans and Nonconformists, should associate themselves with Catholics in their mourning for the head of the Church in this country. It is a proof that Englishmen can value great qualities even in those from whom they most widely differ. Lord Wolseley has expressed perhaps better than any one the general feeling of his fellow-countrymen in the following words: "He had a big heart, full of human sympathy and heavenly goodness. A sincere Protestant myself, I always felt it a privilege to be in his company, and I deeply valued the prayers, which, more than once, he told me he offered up for me. When shall we see his like again?"

But to those who have known him, and to all who came under his influence, he has left a memorial of himself, nobler and more enduring than gorgeous ceremonial or graven monument. Even the Roman of old, in one of the most touching passages in heathen literature, took comfort in the fact that though no statue or portrait of the kinsman he mourned was much more lasting than the form it strove to represent, the real likeness of the immortal soul consisted in imitating the virtues of him whose visible presence had passed away. "Whatever we have loved, whatever we have admired in him, remains with us still, and will ever remain in the hearts and good report of men." Shall Christians, who have

known and loved him, and who owe him so much, be behindhand in fashioning in their hearts an everlasting memorial of their spiritual father and friend?

“Beati qui te viderunt, et in amicitia tua decorati sunt; nam nos vita vivimus tantum, post mortem autem tale non erit nomen nostrum.”

APPENDIX.

[The following is the article from the *Month*, by Father John Morris, S.J., referred to in the Preface.]

WE have lost our second Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. It was clear, as the years ran on, that the time could not be far off when in the course of nature the venerable and stately personage who with such dignity has presided for more than a quarter of a century over the interests of our rising Church, would be taken from us. When we heard that a severe disease had its hold upon him, it was impossible not to foresee that the end had come, for great rallying power or resistance to the inroads of such enemies as bronchitis and congestion of the lungs was not to be expected in the midst of the eighty-fourth year of an active and laborious life. We hoped against hope, for we can ill spare that clear head, that sound judgment, that strong will, that generous heart, that ascetical life, that wide experience of affairs, that habit of influencing others for good—but hope was in vain, and he is gone. We are in God's hands, and He who has provided for us so grandly since our Hierarchy was established, will not now in the hour of our need fail the Church that He is raising up for His glory and the salvation of souls in poor desolate England.

Poor desolate England! If by God's blessing she be less poor and desolate than she was, it is due to the men whom God has raised up to conquer prejudices, and to present the Catholic religion to view as something widely different from the travesty of her lineaments, handed down by popular tradition. The work of the Holy Ghost has been drawing towards the Church those who were and are outside her pale, and our English Catholics were too few, too little organized, perhaps a little too insular, to be ready to receive them. For the conversion of England both movements were wanted, as in the formation of a water-spout, the sea rises to meet the clouds and the clouds descending meet the sea.

Three men amongst others, and far more than any others, have contributed as well to foster the work of God in those without, as to make us more ready to receive those whom God draws towards us; and it speaks much for the insight of the Apostolic See to say that these three Englishmen were Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church. Nicholas Cardinal Wiseman was the man given us by God's providence for his time; his successor, Henry Edward Cardinal Manning, whom we have just lost, was the providential man of the time that followed; and John Henry Cardinal Newman was, not by powers of government but by his immortal writings, the man sent by God for our generation and for all time. It is twenty-seven years within a month since Cardinal Wiseman died; and we lost Cardinal Newman a year and a half ago. Cardinal Manning has followed them, and we pause breathless to see how God's

work is now to be carried on, what form it will take, who is to be His chief instrument, in the new era to which these great men have brought us, and in the work they have bequeathed to us. *Qui cæpit in nobis opus bonum, perficiet usque in diem Christi Jesu : modicum passos Ipse perficiet confirmabit, solidabitque.* Our hope is in the Name of the Lord, whose gifts know no repentance.

It has been my singular good fortune to have been thrown, owing to the official position conferred upon me by them, into close personal relations with two of these great Cardinals. When Cardinal Wiseman died, it was my privilege to lift the veil a little, and, by publishing an account of his last illness, open to some slight extent to the outer world the interior of his noble soul. I have no such mission now. A quarter of a century has passed since I lived with Cardinal Manning, but I have received from him at all times unvarying kindness and affection, so that I could not possibly refuse when asked to put on paper my remembrances of my old master. I make no pretence of writing anything complete. It is too soon to attempt a sketch of his character or a full review of his work. I permit myself to write my recollections, and I am glad to be able to express my affectionate regard.

The late Cardinal was born at Totteridge in Hertfordshire. One day I asked him whether there was not a great excrescence resembling a bear on one of the elms in his father's garden. "Yes, that there was," he answered eagerly, "and we used to call it 'the bear tree.' How did you know that?"

"We called it so too," I told him. "I have played in that garden many a time when I was a boy. The place belonged to the Halls, who were connections of mine, and they would invite me, now and then, to spend a week of my holidays with them." "The Halls had it after us," he said.

When at Harrow he was a great cricketer, and he has told me stories of his prowess in the game which I have forgotten. A Harrow story of another kind has remained in my memory. The bounds for the boys at Harrow extended a mile every way from the school-house. As might be imagined, they were easily transgressed. One day Manning was on the London Road considerably more than a mile from the school, when he caught sight of a master on horseback, riding towards him. The boy immediately took to the fields, and the master, dismounting at a gate and throwing the rein over it, gave chase on foot. Manning was light of foot and easily kept ahead, so making a circuit he was the first to come to the gate, and unhooking the rein, he mounted the horse and rode up into Harrow, leaving the master to follow on foot at his leisure.

Of his Oxford life I do not remember anything that is not public property already. Of his duties as an Archdeacon of unusually wide influence, we are safe in saying that they were somewhat more than Sydney Smith's famous "fulfilment of archidiaconal functions." At all events he there learned how to preside over meetings of men with strong and perhaps discordant views of their own; and his natural aptitude for government, after such oppor-

tunities for training himself in the management of others, made him the most perfect chairman of a public meeting. When a knot occurred he was ready with the suggestion that loosed it; and when his turn came to sum up at the end of a discussion, he was found to have selected all that was good in the speeches of those who had gone before him, and to have assimilated it all so well, that each one found his suggestion improved, and all heard the best things worked up together, and presented in the most taking form.

Archdeacon Manning's last appearance in the Church of England was at a meeting, summoned by himself at their request, of the clergy of his archdeaconry. Its object was to protest against Papal Aggression at the time of the Hierarchy. He had presided over a meeting of the same clergy on a previous occasion, and they had then followed his lead. This was on the Gorham case, and they had joined him in a protest against the action of the Crown, which, by the Gorham judgment, had committed the Church of England to regard Baptismal Regeneration as an open question. "It did not hurt them to protest," he said, "and so they did it."

But the Papal Aggression was a very different thing. The clergy were united against the Pope and vehement in their feelings, and when the Archdeacon received their request that he would summon them that they might address the Crown on the subject of the Catholic Hierarchy, he knew what was coming. He called the meeting together, for that he considered himself officially bound to do;

and in like manner he was prepared to preside over them and put their resolutions to the vote. But he resolved on his own course, and that meeting made him look into his mind and act in accordance with the convictions that at length he had reached. He went into Chichester from Lavington earlier than the time named for the meeting, in order that he might call on the Bishop, of whose fairness and sense of justice he spoke in the highest terms. "I have come to speak to you, my lord," he said to Dr. Gilbert, "before I go to the meeting I have summoned of the clergy of my archdeaconry. They are now assembling in the library, and before I preside over them, I desire to tell your lordship that I entirely differ from all they are about to say. They are about to assert their belief in the spiritual authority of the Crown, and that I reject. They are going to protest against the Supremacy of the Pope, and that I believe." The good Bishop begged him to say nothing of the sort to the meeting, and that the Archdeacon promised; but he added: "My lord, I act as their chairman officially to-day for the last time. I must now resign my archdeaconry into your lordship's hands." "No, no," said the Bishop, "I cannot accept your resignation. Take time to consider: do not be precipitate." "I have not been precipitate, my lord, and that I will not be. I thank you for your great and unvarying kindness to me, and I will renew my resignation in a more formal manner."

At the clergy meeting he told them that this was the first time that he was unable to sympathize with

them, and he hoped that they would understand that in putting their resolutions from the chair, he was not himself in agreement with them. They understood him, of course; and he said that nothing could have been kinder than the way in which he was personally spoken of by all of them but one.

Archdeacon Manning had been present at a very important meeting respecting the Gorham case, which was held in Mr. Gladstone's dining-room in Carlton House Terrace.¹ A form of protest had been drawn up against the famous judgment of the Privy Council. It had been delayed, he said, by Pusey and Keble, who had been hard to satisfy as to its terms; but at last the protest had been agreed upon, and this meeting was for the purpose of signing it. Clergymen and laymen of eminence were assembled there, and the first called upon to affix his signature, when the form of the protest had been read, was Archdeacon Manning. He went to the table and signed it, and in this he was followed by the rest of the clergy who were present.

Mr. Gladstone was standing with his back to the fire, and was the first of the laymen in the room who was asked to sign. He refused to do so. The Cardinal in relating this incident said: "I was afraid lest if they pressed him, they would awaken his Scotch obstinacy, and so I at once took

¹ In the *Life of James Robert Hope-Scott*, by Robert Ornsby (vol. ii., p. 79), it is said that this meeting was held in Mr. Hope's house in Curzon Street. I have not thought it necessary to inquire whether in this detail the Cardinal's memory misled him.

him aside and asked him why he refused. His answer was by the question: 'Do you think that I can do so, consistently with my oath as a Privy Councillor?' I at once turned to the others and said: 'Mr. Gladstone has told me the reason why he does not wish to sign. It affects no one but himself, and I beg you to pass on to the next name.' " The time has come when this ought to be told, in some degree for Mr. Gladstone's sake. For it has been said that he was one of those who signed the protest against the Gorham case, which declared that the Church of England would become responsible for the rejection of an article of the Christian faith, if the Privy Council judgment were not repudiated but tacitly accepted. That Mr. Gladstone disapproved of the judgment is certain; but the protest that he signed was of a very different character, and simply said that the Judicial Committee was an unfit court to decide questions of doctrine. About ten became Catholics of the sixty-three that signed this gentler protest, and six out of the thirteen who signed the stronger one, of which the Cardinal was speaking.¹ Mr. Gladstone is sometimes said to have drawn near to the Catholic Church, and then to have fallen back again. Such was in no way Cardinal Manning's view. He did not think that

¹ The declaration against the Gorham case, after being widely circulated, obtained some 1800 signatures, lay and clerical together, whereas a declaration in its favour was signed by 3262 of the Anglican clergy, and this one met with the full concurrence of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York.

Mr. Gladstone had ever been nearer to the Church in his convictions than he is now, and nothing was more certain to him than the perfect sincerity and complete good faith of his friend of many years, even in the hardest things said by him at one time against the Catholic religion.

This quiet state of Mr. Gladstone's conscience is illustrated by a story that the Cardinal told me of the moment when his own mind was made up to submit to the Church. Mr. Manning had left his archdeaconry and had come to London, where as the guest of his sister in Cadogan Place he spent much time in deliberation and prayer before becoming a Catholic. It is one thing to lose faith in the Church of England; it is another thing, against the prejudices of a life, to arrive at the belief that the Roman Catholic Church, of which the Pope is the visible Head, is the one true Church of Christ upon earth. He had looked on Anglicanism as "a portion of the Church," which by a particular act was forfeiting its office and authority; but before he could become a Catholic it was necessary to be convinced that there is no true portion of the visible Church of God out of communion with the Vicar of Christ. This belief was slowly maturing in his mind and heart. One Sunday Mr. Manning and Mr. Gladstone were out walking together, and they dropped into a proprietary chapel in Palace Street, close to the Buckingham Palace stables. The preacher was the Reverend Thomas Harper, who afterwards as a Jesuit Father wrote a reply to Pusey's *Eirenicon* and also an elaborate work called

The Metaphysics of the Schools. His sermon ended with a series of the solemn texts in which our Lord bids men leave all things to follow Him. "He that loveth father or mother more than Me, is not worthy of Me:" "Unless a man renounce all that he possesses, he cannot be My disciple:" "If any man would come after Me, let him take up his cross daily and follow Me."—"Does all that say anything to you?" This was the question that Mr. Manning put to Mr. Gladstone when they had left the chapel. "No, I cannot say it does," was Mr. Gladstone's answer. "Well, then, it does to me," said Mr. Manning, "and I am going to act upon it at once."

And he did act upon it. Father James Brownbill, S.J., received him into the Church on Passion Sunday, 6th April, 1851, in the Hill Street residence then attached to the Farm Street Church.

It will be easy to assign the dates of the events that have been mentioned from the letters printed in the Life of his friend Mr. James Hope-Scott, then famous as James Hope, Q.C. The Gorham judgment was delivered on 8th March, 1850. On the 12th of that month the meeting already spoken of was held, in which the statement was signed "that any portion of the Church which does so abandon the essential meaning of an article of the Creed, forfeits not only the Catholic doctrine in that article, but also the office and authority to witness and teach as a member of the Universal Church." On the 23rd of November Mr. Manning wrote to Mr. Hope a letter giving in a few words what has been said above respecting the resignation of his archdeaconry.

"Events have driven me to a decision. This anti-Popery cry has seized my brethren, and they asked me to be convened. I must either resign at once, or convene them ministerially and express my dissent, the reasons of which would involve my resignation. I went to the Bishop and said this, and tendered my resignation. He was very kind, and wished me to take time, but I have written and made it final." He added a request to Mr. Hope that showed the intimate sympathy that existed between them. "I should be glad if we might keep together; and whatever must be done, do it with a calm and deliberateness which shall give testimony that it is not done in lightness." The two friends were received at the same time by Father Brownbill; and the next day Mr. Manning (who was then living at 14 Queen Street, Mayfair) wrote to Mr. Hope: "I feel as if I had no desire unfulfilled, but to persevere in what God has given me for His Son's sake." A year afterwards, writing from Rome, he said to the same friend: "How this time reminds me of last year! On Passion Sunday I shall be in retreat. *Stantes erant pedes nostri*, and we made no mistake in our long reckoning, though we feared it up to the last opening of Father B.'s door."¹

Before six weeks had passed, Mr. Manning had become a priest. Cardinal Wiseman knew how to prize the convert who at the mature age of forty-three had submitted himself so heartily to the Church. He knew the numbers who would be influenced by the converted Archdeacon, if he might devote him-

¹ *Life of James Robert Hope-Scott*, vol. ii., p. 85.

self with all the authority of the Church's priesthood to their conversion and their guidance, and he looked on him as one whose neophyte days might well be shortened. The forty years that have elapsed since that ordination have proved the truth of that judgment.

The Jesuit Fathers were very willing to help forward the good work, and they placed a confessional in their church in Farm Street at his disposal, and there his friends and penitents had easy access to him. His life, however, was spent for some years half in Rome and half in London. He went to the Accademia Ecclesiastica, with, in all probability in the first instance, no intention of returning there when he should leave it for England. But a higher than he had different views, and Pope Pius IX. gently and affectionately insisted, time after time, when he went for a parting audience, on a promise that he would come back to the Accademia for yet another winter. The Pope had probably a purpose of his own in view, and it was to fit the Abate Manning for high office that the Pope thus cared to make him familiar with Rome, Roman ways, and the Italian language. I was in Rome at the time, and I remember hearing an expression that His Holiness had made use of respecting him. He called him a *testa quadra*—"a man whose head was square."

In 1854, the year of the Definition of the Immaculate Conception, Pius IX. bestowed on him the degree of Doctor by diploma. In 1856 Dr. Manning drew up the Rule for the Oblates of St. Charles in England, which was approved by the Pope, and in

the following year the Congregation was founded, the mother-house being at St. Mary of the Angels, Bayswater. This henceforward became the founder's residence, and continued to be so until he was made Archbishop of Westminster.

Early in 1857 Father Whitty, now [1892] Assistant to the General of the Society at Fiesole, who had been made Provost of the Metropolitan Chapter at its foundation in 1852, was desirous of becoming a Jesuit, and I remember talking it over with him and asking him what Cardinal Wiseman would think of his resigning his provostship. His answer was that he thought there was some one to whom the Cardinal would be glad to give it. That "some one" was Dr. Manning, and he succeeded Dr. Whitty accordingly.

Not long afterwards the new Provost was made by the Pope a Protonotary Apostolic, that is to say, "a full prelate" with episcopal rank, and the title of Right Reverend. There were but few "full prelates" in England at that time, and on Mgr. Manning's appointment as Archbishop he received a very characteristic letter from Bishop Ullathorne, saying that one reason why he was glad that he was the new Archbishop was that "there was one Monsignore less in England."

Cardinal Wiseman died on the 15th of February, 1865. He lay just a month between life and death, tranquilly measuring the days. Dr. Manning was in Rome, and at the beginning of that last month we wanted to telegraph for him to return. "Not yet," said the Cardinal, "I will tell you when:" and one

day he said of his own accord, "Telegraph for Dr. Manning." When he arrived, the end was very near, but the Cardinal was still conscious. Dr. Manning told him that Pius IX. had sent him his affectionate blessing. "Thank him, thank him, thank him," he said, and no further word passed between the dying Cardinal Archbishop and his successor.

Cardinal Wiseman had said that if anybody preached at his funeral, he hoped it would be Dr. Manning, and his wish was respected. The memory of that funeral has not faded away from the minds of those who saw it seven and twenty years ago. Englishmen honour their great men, at all events when they pass away, but those who saw the wonderful sight did not expect to see it surpassed, as it was in many respects distinctly surpassed in the funeral we have just seen. The body of Cardinal Wiseman lay in state and was visited by hundreds; Cardinal Manning's was visited by thousands, and their quiet and reverent demeanour was most impressive, as in long lines they awaited their turn for admission, or as they passed through the chamber in which he lay in his vestments, with nuns and priests praying around him. The Requiem of Cardinal Wiseman was in the Pro-Cathedral at Moorfields, a church that would not have held a tithe of the multitude that filled the Oratory; and in this funeral, in addition to the Bishops of the Province, Ireland sent an Archbishop and four Bishops to do honour to the friend of their country. If the funeral procession fell short of the marvellous

sight that was so forcibly described by Cardinal Manning himself,¹ it was partly due to the much shorter distance between the church and the cemetery, and partly to the wise and judicious instruction issued by the Vicar Capitular that the mourning coaches on this occasion were not to have four horses. In both cases the striking feature was the multitude that thronged the roads through which the funeral procession had to pass—such a multitude as would be drawn together only by a State funeral with its accompaniment of military pomp.

Cardinal Wiseman's funeral caused the death of his old Vicar-General, Dr. Maguire. Dr. Manning and Dr. Maguire were men of very different schools, as unlike one another as it was well possible for two men to be, who were bound to have so much in common. Naturally they had not been much drawn together until that time, but when Dr. Maguire lay awaiting death from the illness brought on at the funeral, Dr. Manning visited him frequently, and a new relation sprung up between them. "Your foot-step outside my door is as music to my ear," was the greeting with which, towards the end, he received his visitor.

After Cardinal Wiseman's death I went to Brittany for a rest and change. I had said Mass in the Cathedral at Quimper, and had gone into a *café* for my breakfast, when my eye caught the words in a little French newspaper: "Monsieur Manning a

¹ *Miscellanies*, by Henry Edward Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, p. 163.

reçu ses bulles de Rome.” “Our tour is over,” I said to my fellow-traveller; “I shall have to go back now.” I telegraphed from Brest, “If this news is true, send me your blessing,” and the answer, as I expected, was, “Return at once: it is true, though I cannot understand it.” When I saw him he said that he had it not in his heart to desire that high station, if it were not for the good that it would enable him to do.

Every one knows that Archbishop Errington was once Cardinal Wiseman’s Coadjutor with right of succession. That the Cardinal should have asked for him to fill an office that brought them into such mutual dependence, was a singular proof that, learned, large-minded, large-hearted as he was, Cardinal Wiseman knew little of human nature. They had been close friends who had never agreed together on anything. Dr. Errington, much against his will, was taken from the See of Plymouth to be the Cardinal’s Coadjutor, and the two Prelates were so unlike that it was simply impossible that one should become the *alter ego* of the other. Dr. Errington, who then was made Archbishop of Trebizond with the right of succeeding to Westminster, was a warm-hearted, affectionate man in the heart that was hidden away, but in the outer man he was unyielding and severe. At any rate these two great and excellent men viewed almost all practical details in a different way, and the close co-operation between them that their official relation required, was impossible. It is not in the least to be wondered at that Cardinal Wiseman should have

pressed the Pope to remove his Coadjutor, and at last it was done. The Pope did it, not as a judicial, but as a paternal act; and Catholics could not but be edified when they saw Archbishop Errington subside into a parish priest in the Isle of Man or a professor at Prior Park. If he was ever hard on others, he was harder on himself; and if he was zealous and unyielding out of season as well as in season, it was for law and for right, for the Church and for God.

When Dr. Errington was named Coadjutor, the Chapter had voted for him; and when the See was vacant on Cardinal Wiseman's death, they voted for him again. The Chapter presents three names to the Holy See on such occasions, and the two other Bishops, whose names went up with Dr. Errington's, wrote to the Pope to ask that he might be appointed. Practically thus no choice was left to the Pope, and that was a position that Archbishop Errington's friends were hardly wise in creating. On similar occasions the Pope has sometimes called for another list of names; on this he took the choice into his hands. In any case the name of Provost Manning stood so high everywhere that it could not fail to come before the mind of the Pope. The man whom Cardinal Wiseman regarded as sure to be his successor, was the one to whom many hearts turned as the man of God sent to meet a great crisis and to fill the loftiest station amongst us. So thought Pius IX., and setting aside the names presented by the Chapter of Westminster, as indeed on various other occasions the Chapter names have been set

aside, the Pope made Mgr. Provost Manning Archbishop.

It was intimated to him that if he went to Rome the Pope would consecrate him with his own hand ; but at the same time he was told that it was the opinion of the Holy Father that it would do more good in England if his consecration took place in London. He was consecrated in Moorfields by Dr. Ullathorne, Bishop of Birmingham, the sermon being preached by Dr. Amherst, Bishop of Northampton. The sermon was on the Office of the Holy Ghost, and Archbishop Manning listened to it with the keenest interest, and spoke of it afterwards with high praise, for it treated of the devotion of his predilection. The consecration was on the 8th of June, and if Cardinal Wiseman had lived to that day, he had intended to have invited all the Bishops of England to celebrate it with solemnity, in that very Church of Moorfields, for it would have been the Silver Jubilee of his Episcopate. The Bishops were there, but it was to assist at the consecration of his successor.

Archbishop Manning resolved to go to Rome and to petition in person for the pallium—that pallium which in accordance with the Church's rule has been buried with him. An Archbishop until he receives the pallium has no right to the full title, and is called "Archbishop Elect." He is also forbidden to use his pontificals. The interval was rather long in Archbishop Manning's case, and he received instructions from Propaganda to cease calling himself "elect," and to act as though the pallium had been conferred upon him.

When he went to Rome, Pius IX. said to him in his first audience: "Ah, while the See was vacant, many people said many things to me against my placing you there, but I had a voice in my ear that continually said to me, *Mettetelo lì, Mettetelo lì*—'Put him there, put him there.' " This I heard from him on his return from Rome, under an injunction on his part not to mention it, but lately I told him that I thought that his injunction of silence on this subject had expired long ago.

I must now speak of a very personal matter, but for it I owe Cardinal Manning a great debt of gratitude, of which I am anxious now to pay some instalment. I was living in his house, and I was his Diocesan Secretary. An ancient desire had revived in my heart with irresistible force, and I was most anxious to be permitted to enter the Society of Jesus. In Cardinal Wiseman's time and in the early days of Archbishop Manning it would not have been possible. There was no one to take my place in an office that must necessarily be filled and that no one coveted. Many strings were in my hands, and unless some one else would take charge of them, I could not move. Such a one was found, and I have always looked on his coming as a special favour bestowed by God's goodness upon me.

One day I said to the Archbishop that the physical labour of so much writing was too much for me. He agreed at once, and said that two priests were coming for their destinations that day, and I might have either of them to help me. He suggested one of them, and I acquiesced; but a little while afterwards

I went to him, saying, "My lord, that choice just now was a mistake. Let me have Dr. Johnson instead. I am sure that he will do." Dr. Johnson came, and it was soon clear that he could do my work far better than I could do it. Literally before long I was without an office, and Archbishop Manning had a Diocesan Secretary immeasurably better than me.

While the Archbishop was debating with himself what he would do with me next, he went out of town, and I seized the opportunity to go to Roehampton to make a retreat. Father Fitzsimon accepted me only on the condition that I did not trouble him, as he was busy with the long retreat of his novices. I did not need him, for I had no sooner set foot in the chapel where the novices were making their meditation than I saw clearly—and the light, thank God, has never faded away—that the time was come and that it was God's will that I should enter the noviceship.

In consequence of Dr. Johnson's perfect fitness for my duties, Archbishop Manning *could* let me go; but *would* he? I asked Father Weld, who was then Provincial, whether he would receive me, and he said that if I came with the full consent of the Archbishop he would, but he "would not fight for me." He would take me if I were free to come; and on that supposition I asked him how long he supposed it would be before I could hope to enter the novitiate. His answer was that if I was out of that house in six months, I might consider myself fortunate. I was out of the house with the Cardinal's

full leave in less than a month. I asked him on the vigil of St. Andrew, 1866, and before Christmas he had let me go.

That vigil of St. Andrew I am not likely ever to forget. It was against His Grace's wish that I should leave him, and against his judgment too, for he did not believe that I had a vocation to the religious life; but this only makes his speedy acquiescence all the more generous. I never had from him an unkind word, he never did a harsh thing in my regard; and though by my own act I separated myself from him and all his interests, he never shut me out from his friendship. I never noticed any coldness in his manner towards me at any time during these five and twenty years.

I am fully aware that I am not saying anything complimentary to myself, if I add that the Cardinal felt it much more when his nephew, Father Anderson, left his house, and Father Humphrey left the Oblates, in order to enter the Society. Those who knew his house and remember William Newman, the faithful servant who had been for many years butler to Cardinal Wiseman, and who continued in the service of Cardinal Manning—those who know what the loss of Newman was to him, will be able to appreciate the humour with which he said: "To make it quite complete, Newman should go to be a lay-brother."

But now to turn to matters of wider interest. All the good that Cardinal Manning has done to his clergy, all the encouragement that he has given them, all the efforts that he has persistently made

that they might look on themselves as, and ever be, the salt of the earth—what nobler work could a Bishop do? “To do good to those who do good to others,” was St. Ignatius’ preference, and how few they are that have it in their power! This was the central pivot of all Cardinal Manning’s endeavour. With this in view he very wisely encouraged the popular feeling which suddenly gave to the Secular Clergy the title of “Father”—an infinitely preferable title to that of “Mister,” which from time immemorial they had been called. The epithet “Secular” the Cardinal greatly disliked, but of course it is too deeply rooted in universal usage to be eradicated now, and besides, no substitute for it has been suggested. But the Cardinal wanted to bring home to the clergy that they were *in sortem Domini vocati*, and he had the pleasure of seeing himself surrounded by a zealous, hard-working, self-denying priesthood. Thank God that their number has steadily increased. At the time of the Cardinal’s Jubilee, a year and a half ago [1890], it was computed that there were then 350 priests to minister to the same number of Catholics that a quarter of a century before were ministered to by 210; that is to say, there are five priests now where then there were three.

His wisdom was conspicuous in his conduct respecting a Cathedral for his diocese. When he came to the throne, it was a question much mooted whether a Cathedral ought not to be built, or at all events begun, to become the Metropolitan Church of Westminster. Cardinal Manning took his line at

once, and never swerved from it. He said that if he left to his successor a site for his Cathedral, he would have done his share; and he wisely added that if he had to raise the funds for the building of a large church, it would be impossible for him to provide, as he was determined to provide, for his poor children by Reformatories, Industrial Schools, and Orphanages. He has kept his purpose nobly. A splendid site, consisting of a large portion of that once occupied by Tothill Fields Prison, is secured for the future Metropolitan Church; and it may be added that Mr. Clutton made at his own cost a noble set of drawings for the church, in fulfilment of the Cardinal's single instruction that it was to be as large as Notre Dame.

The Archbishop's house in Carlisle Place, which had been built to serve as a club for the privates of the Guards, whose married men's barracks almost adjoin it, was a residence after the Cardinal's own heart. It was substantially built and very spacious, but when that is said the praise it deserves is almost exhausted. But the Cardinal liked the austerity of its bareness and openness. There was not a bedroom in it, when he bought it, and the upper floor was undivided. He put up three little rooms or cells in each of its corners, in one of which he slept and died. During the day he encamped in one of the large rooms of the floor below, dwelling behind a screen, with his books and papers on the floor and tables, all round his chair. The other great rooms on that first floor were admirably adapted for the reception of the crowds who thronged them on certain

occasions, like the Low Week meeting of the Bishops. For the rest, Sir Andrew Clark was not far wrong when he said, as he mounted that cold stone staircase to visit his illustrious patient, "Your palace is a famous place for catching colds."

It has been just said that the Cardinal deliberately chose his children instead of his Cathedral. If we understand rightly his statement issued in May, 1891, there were "of old," that is when he became Archbishop, "two Orphanages and one Industrial School," whereas now his Diocesan Inspector reports on the condition of eleven Poor-Law Schools, three Industrial Schools, one Reformatory, and nine Orphanages, in which twenty-four schools 3204 children were present at the last Religious Inspection. The miserable condition of our workhouse children was represented to a Committee of the House of Commons in Cardinal Wiseman's time. How rejoiced that tender-hearted pastor of souls would have been if he could have known that in the year preceding the death of his successor, there would be 1149 boys and 1104 girls, or in all 2253 Catholic workhouse children, in the Certified Schools of the dioceses of Westminster and Southwark. It is cheering to see page after page of the Inspector's Report occupied with the comments of Guardians from Unions in every direction, all expressing their content and satisfaction. And if we include the Parochial Elementary Schools as well as the Certified Schools we have been speaking of, we have the wonderful increase in the Cardinal's time, to which he used to refer with such thankfulness, that while in the year 1865, in which

he was made Archbishop, the number of children present at the Religious Inspection was 11,145, by the year 1890, the number had risen to 22,580.

At the time of the Cardinal's Jubilee attention was called to the very singular fact that the children under education have been doubled without any corresponding increase of our Catholic population. The following is taken from baptismal returns for the diocese of Westminster:—

	In 1850	1865	1870	1870-4	1875-80	1889
Infant Baptisms	5719	7975	7197	7080	6891	7208
Conditional Baptisms ...	581	1164	1190	958	1135	1300
	<u>6300</u>	<u>9139</u>	<u>8387</u>	<u>8038</u>	<u>8026</u>	<u>8508</u>

I have before me a letter written by the Cardinal on the 18th of October, 1890, in which he kindly gives me the latest of these figures. He speaks in it of an increase of about 100 baptisms in the last twenty years, and then he says: "I do not ascribe this to an increase of population. Indeed, we know that many have been driven, by a demolition of houses, to the south of the Thames. The cause [of the increase of baptisms] I believe is this. In the last twenty-five years, about 33 new missions have been founded, and 17 or 18 stations dependent on them. These 50 new centres have increased the baptisms, notwithstanding the migration." In reality, however, the infant baptisms are exactly what they were twenty years ago. In 1870 they were 7197, and in 1889 they were 7208. That which the priests at the 50 new centres of activity, and those in the 80 old ones, have done, is to double the number of children attending Catholic schools, out of a Catholic

population which for the reason given by the Cardinal has remained stationary.

The two greatest events in the reign of the late Cardinal Archbishop were the Vatican Council and the Conclave. As to the latter, it was a singular fate for an Englishman to have had a vote or two given him in the scrutiny that preceded that which elected the Pope. An English name has probably not been announced from the altar on such an occasion since Nicholas Breakspeare was elected as Sovereign Pontiff. As to the Vatican Council, we were proud of the position our Archbishop held in that most august assembly. How his heart was in its dogmatic decrees, a little incident showed on the night before his death. The edition of the Pontifical that was used for his Profession of Faith did not contain the words that Pius IX. had added to the Creed of Pius IV. Another copy was fetched, in which they were; and whereas he had listened carefully and followed closely the previous articles, as Mgr. Provost Gilbert read them at his bedside, the declaration of his adhesion to the Vatican definitions, and especially to the Infallibility of the Pope, he insisted on reading with his own voice.

I will only add one or two little personal traits in conclusion. It was the Cardinal's habit to sit close to a blazing fire, and Newman's orders were to keep it at white heat. To my fancy he was like St. Thomas of Canterbury, who was extremely thin and chilly. He was also like the Saint in the keenness of his senses, which, with the exception of his hearing, remained to the very end. Not long ago he

sent for me to talk over something that had happened when I was his Secretary, and his memory proved better than mine. His mental clearness and vigour in extreme old age were very remarkable. This also certainly was characteristic, that in money matters he was one of the most generous of men. If a difficulty could be solved by his opening his purse-strings, he was sure not to hesitate. Then again, he was an excellent man to have to transact business with. I remember the change when he succeeded Cardinal Wiseman. Long before his death, Cardinal Wiseman was under the influence of the disease that killed him. It became very difficult at last to get one's business done. I used to hide away my papers as I entered his room, and then produce them when the propitious moment had come; but Archbishop Manning was ready for work at any time, and indeed he had a faculty, that his nephew Father Anderdon shared, of being able to turn to severe literary labour immediately after dinner. His dinner was simplicity itself, and practically he had but one meal a day. That spare, emaciated frame needed singularly little nourishment. Canon Johnson told me that when the Cardinal met the leaders of the dockyard strike in the schoolroom at Poplar, he came back in the evening at nine o'clock, having touched nothing since his frugal dinner at one, and he felt so little exhaustion that he could then and there, over his bread and butter, tell his Secretary all that had passed.

The Cardinal was not a teetotaler when I lived with him, though he was always extremely abstemi-

ous. In those early days, before he took the pledge himself, he was presiding at a teetotal meeting, and said in his speech, "For myself, I never touch wine except by the direction of my doctor." "Change your doctor!" some one cried out from the bottom of the hall. This was unanswerable. The Cardinal often told the story with a thorough enjoyment of his own discomfiture, and with equal gusto he would repeat the following. He was passing one day down the Crescent at the back of his house in the Vauxhall Bridge Road, when he overtook a very respectable artisan, who as it turned out was a Catholic. "Have you taken the pledge?" was the question the Cardinal lost no time in asking. "No," said the man, "my confessor told me I did not need it." "I have taken the pledge myself," the Cardinal said, somewhat unwarily. "Perhaps you needed it," said the man, with a look in his eye that showed his sense of the position.

I need not add a word about Cardinal Manning as a preacher. Those short crisp sentences, that never-failing choice of the most appropriate words, the silvery flow of sound, together with matter of the highest interest, and a perfect skill in the manner of its handling, all these things have through many years attracted and arrested and delighted innumerable hearers. With a tender little story that has just been told me of a sermon preached to prisoners, I end this scanty notice of one whom I am glad to call a master and a friend.

My informant met in America Mr. Boyle O'Reilly, whose career was a somewhat chequered one. He

enlisted when a mere boy in the English army, with the express object of spreading Fenianism among the English soldiers. He was soon informed against, tried, and sentenced to penal servitude for life. For a time he was at Millbank, then sent as a convict to New South Wales, whence he escaped and made his way to America, where he acquired for himself a good position, and was well known as a very successful editor and not unsuccessful poet. While at Millbank, he said, the favourite topic for sermons to the prisoners was the Prodigal Son. They were all weary to death of the Prodigal Son, and hated his very name. One day a stranger came to preach in the gaol chapel. They knew by his violet cassock that he was some one out of the ordinary. As usual he began about the Prodigal Son, and the convicts settled themselves down to sulky inattention. But in a very few minutes they were all listening eagerly, and after a few minutes more the tears began to steal down the rough cheeks of several. Before the sermon was over hardened ruffians were sobbing, so touching was the simple description of the home of the prodigal, the picture of his old father and heart-broken mother, of the innocent joys of his childhood, and of its contrast with his after degradation and self-reproach. That sermon left a deep mark on the remembrance of all who heard it, and Boyle O'Reilly said that apart from all his love for Cardinal Manning for his devotion to the cause of his country, the remembrance of that sermon had endeared him to him for all the rest of his life.

JOHN MORRIS.

POSTSCRIPT.

MR. PURCELL'S *LIFE OF CARDINAL MANNING*.¹

I WAS quite aware, when I wrote this brief sketch of Cardinal Manning's life for the Catholic Truth Society, that it would have been a great advantage to have had these two bulky volumes before me; but they had been so often announced and then withdrawn that it seemed useless to wait longer for their appearance. Now that the book is at last before the world, it seems to be due to my readers, as well as to myself, to give some account of Mr. Purcell's work, and of the extent to which it modifies the impression I desired to give in my sketch. It would not be easy to do more than this in the few weeks that have elapsed since its publication; the size of the work, the mass of details that fill the two volumes, and the strange fashion in which these details are set before the reader, all forbid it. The work is very hard reading, not from any abstruseness in its subject, but from the continual mis-spelling of ordinary proper names and foreign words, the shaky concords, and the tortuous course of the whole. These elementary defects have rightly been pointed out in many of the notices that have appeared; but these have not laid sufficient stress on an

¹ *Life of Cardinal Manning*, by E. S. Purcell. London: Macmillan, 1895.

obvious corollary. A writer who has proved himself so grossly incompetent or careless in the lesser matters of orthography, syntax, and prosody, is not likely to succeed in the far more delicate task of selecting letters and other documents for publication, and excising the portions of them that are irrelevant or otherwise unsuited for the purposes of a biography. Accordingly we find not a few letters printed which are of no more service to any one than copies of receipted bills would have been ; and in at least one instance (vol. ii., pp. 102 and 143) the same letter is printed twice over, with different erasures, no apparent reason being given for its repetition. Happily for the interests of truth, we probably owe the printing of several papers to this very inaccuracy. It must in justice be conceded that there are parts of the narrative in both volumes which are free from these defects, being written in plain and clear English. The contrast between these and the more florid portion of the work is so great as strongly to suggest another writer, or, at any rate, the hand of a ruthless critic. If the latter, our gratitude to him is not unalloyed, as to him we probably owe the omission of the amusing mixed metaphors that enlivened the pages of the "Episodes."

There are, however, much more grave objections to Mr. Purcell's fitness for the task he has set himself to accomplish. "To a biographer," as Mr. Purcell justly says, "his hero should be of supreme and special interest ;" we might add, of appreciative and sympathetic interest. If there was a spark of such a feeling in this biographer, we can only say that he has been most successful in dissembling his love, and in leading most readers to believe that his subject inspired him with something like hatred. Such a relation between an author and his hero is so singular as to lead one to cast

about for its causes. One probably is a belief that in writing, as in matrimony, it is best to "begin with a little wholesome aversion," so as to insure impartiality; again the "*odisse quem læseris*" principle will account for a good deal. The chief cause, however, seems to be different. It is said—I know not with what truth—that the Sistine Madonna was originally not thought worthy of a special frame, but was forced into one several sizes too small for it; and that the picture still bears traces of the injuries then inflicted on it. Something of this kind, I take it, was the case with the book before us. Mr. Purcell provided a frame into which he tried to fit the likeness of Cardinal Manning, but found it increasingly difficult to do so, and conceived resentment against the hero for being so unaccommodating. This is also probably the reason why he has apparently entirely neglected a warning of the Cardinal's which he publishes himself. "In writing my life," the Cardinal says, "great care ought to be taken in discriminating between my own statements, guarded by conditions and limitations, and the impressions as to what I did say, recorded by those who sought my opinion or judgment of their theories" (vol. ii., p. 649). In the face of this caution, it is hard to believe that the Cardinal's printed works are scarcely ever mentioned in these two volumes, and never, I think, to explain doubtful points. I do not for a moment deny that the sources from which the author has drawn his information are much more abundant than Cardinal Manning's printed works; but the latter ought not to have been neglected. To the careful reader the omission strengthens the conclusion that is forced on him, that Mr. Purcell's object has been less to draw an accurate portrait of his hero, than to support his own preconceived ideas. It is to be remembered that we have not before

us the whole of the documents left behind by the Cardinal, but only such select portions of them as the author has been good enough to show us; so that we have no such means of criticising the context and relations of any passage as we possess when we are referred to printed works.

The melodramatic instinct, which was so noticeable in historians of a school I thought had died out, is curiously developed in this biographer. Like them he rejoices in wars, excursions and alarms, and is less interested in the triumphs of peace. Two results of this transpontine tendency must be mentioned to put the reader on his guard. The Cardinal's battles are drawn on such a scale that they occupy the chief place in the book from the reader's point of view, and almost inevitably suggest that what the author is pleased to call the Cardinal's " Berserker rages " ¹ made the largest claim on his time and energies. This is especially true of the account he gives of the variances between the great Cardinals, Newman and Manning, with which I do not propose to deal further, as it has been so exhaustively handled by several writers. If the absurdity of the idea were not so great, one would almost be disposed to think that their disagreements left them little or no time for the ordinary pursuits of life, for meals, recreation, and sleep.

Another result of the author's method is to supply no

¹ This term, Mr. Purcell tells us, was adopted by the Cardinal's family as being doubtless a peculiarly happy description of uncontrollable paroxysms of violence. His relatives are not conscious that they ever witnessed these, or of having used this word to describe them; I, at any rate, heard of them first from Mr. Purcell himself, and he, no doubt, knows best. He is, of course, right—from the mare's nest he has found concerning his hero's birth and baptism, till the end.

account, at all proportionate, of the motives of the contentions which he so fully exhibits to the world. This leaves an impression on the mind that both parties were quarrelling for quarrelling's sake, or at any rate for trivialities. This is the chief cause why the sections dealing with the relations between Monsignor Talbot and Dr. Manning are in many respects the most atrocious part of the *Life*.

If it had been explained clearly to the general reader that the disagreements over Archbishop Errington's succession were perfectly legitimate in themselves, and were followed by a calm which was honourable to both parties, the book would no doubt not have served the purpose of inflicting unnecessary pain on many persons; but what it lost in "spiciness" it would have gained in being edifying and instructive.

I will now take up a few points in the book which seem to me to illustrate best the author's peculiar methods of writing Cardinal Manning's biography.

The first point is one in which I am indirectly concerned, yet which I should have missed, but that my attention was called to it, as well as to other points of importance, by Father Sydney Smith's excellent article in the *Month* for February, 1896.

When he comes to give his account of Cardinal Manning's decision to take orders, Mr. Purcell very properly sets before us all the material he can supply to form our judgment. This material consists of three autobiographical notes, written some fifty years later, the third of which is preceded by such a confused paragraph, that it could not alone be relied on; of a letter written by Manning himself to his mother, and one addressed to him by his friend Twistleton, both dated in 1832. These all prove that Manning was

convinced that his desire to take orders was "as purely a call from God as all that He has given me since. It was a call *ad veritatem et ad seipsum*." With this amount of evidence one way, and so far as I can see, none whatever the other, we should be inclined to think that his own version of his conviction would not be questioned. Mr. Purcell, however, knows better; he insinuates that Manning's supposed vocation was a self-deception, and that he was really actuated by mere worldly motives; and this is how the biographer sets to work. He has not a shred of positive evidence to support such an innuendo, and can only appeal to negative suggestions. He remarks that the aged Cardinal may have forgotten the real motives that inspired him half a century before; and, oblivious or careless of the two contemporaneous letters, Mr. Purcell has no difficulty in supposing that his hero cannot have been led by "such a strange and startling" motive as a call from God. He has one more argument which he evidently thinks final:—If the Cardinal had thought himself called by God, he would have been sure to communicate it to his brother-in-law, Mr. Anderdon, of which there is no trace in the letters to which Mr. Purcell had access. An argument from mere silence is always rash, and so it has proved in this case. Side by side with their exoteric correspondence, the two brothers-in-law carried on a frequent communication on spiritual and religious matters, in two little note-books which they exchanged. These letters have happily escaped Mr. Purcell's manipulation, and I was able to give an extract from them in pp. 11 and 12 of this little book, which disposes of Mr. Purcell's reasoning.

Let me be clearly understood. I do not charge the biographer with any conscious attempt to establish

his conclusion on a deception; but I do charge him with complete unfitness to write any man's history.

In the autumn of 1845 Dr. S. Wilberforce, on being made Bishop of Oxford, resigned the office of Sub-Almoner to the Queen, which was thereupon tendered to Archdeacon Manning. The latter's friends were most anxious he should accept it, as it was on the high road to a career which would have given full scope for his powers in the service of the Anglican Church. He took a week to weigh the *pros* and *cons*, and then declined the appointment. His diary for that period, as we have it from Mr. Purcell, shows that the Archdeacon most carefully considered the matter in all its bearings. The chief grounds that determined his refusal were, in his own words: "I ought not to be absent from my altar at the feasts, especially the Easter communion. I owe myself a revenge for Lincoln's Inn, and a greater denial than this. [Two years earlier he had been a candidate for a Preachership at Lincoln's Inn, at the instance of his friends, especially of Mr. Gladstone.] I have *prayed* against pride, vanity, and ambition. I would fain simply deny myself as an offering to Him who pleased not Himself. . . . To learn to say no, to disappoint myself, to choose the harder side, to deny my inclinations, to prefer to be less thought of, and to have fewer gifts of the world, this is no mistake; and is most like the Cross. Only with humility; God grant it to me."

I should have thought that such a glimpse, wholly undesigned, of the hidden moral and spiritual life of Archdeacon Manning would have led even Mr. Purcell to recognize that the subject of his biography stood a head and shoulders higher than the common run of men. But Mr. Purcell is equal to the task of minim-

izing this act of self-denial and humility, the reward for which seems to have been the grace that led the Archdeacon into the Church. His task must have been a hard one; for he had to admit that the entries in the diary, of which I have quoted some fragments, show "a very sensitive and scrupulous conscience, and a God-fearing spirit . . . his vivid faith, his trust in God, obedience to the Divine Will are made manifest." But he lays much more stress on the temptations which counselled Manning's accepting the proffered appointment, of his struggles with them, and of his regrets when he had declined. He does not say in so many words that he considers the Archdeacon more to be blamed for having temptations to pride and vanity, than he is to be praised for overcoming them; but he is scandalized to find that after the decision the Archdeacon felt regrets which the biographer ascribes to "remorse or restlessness, or both." Mr. Purcell's belief—if anything so incoherent can be dignified by that name—evidently is, that the most perfect act of virtue is one which has met with no temptation to do otherwise, and that the moral value of any action is lessened by resistance to lower motives. This idea, at least, is the only intelligible reason for the line he has taken. If so, we can only ask: Where was this man bred, and where can he have lived, that he has not realized that the truth is exactly the contrary? Can he never have heard a sermon on the Temptation in the Wilderness, or the Agony in the Garden?—never read a children's catechism, or opened any elementary spiritual book? If he has not, a short course of them would make him a more suitable biographer of the lowliest Christian.

I come now to the gravest charge, and the one which, from its nature, is the hardest to disprove. The tender

conscience of our biographer was grieved by the discovery that for five years—from 1846 to 1851—Archdeacon Manning spoke with a “double voice;” that he proclaimed in sermons, charges, and letters meant for waverers, his unshaken faith in the Church of England, while in his diaries and letters of confession to Mr. R. Wilberforce he expressed his despair of ever being able to accept or defend the position of that body. Were the statement true, Purcell’s reprobation would be far too mild; but it would be easy to show that the facts are better explained by a more charitable hypothesis. But as this would require an exhaustive analysis of the documents, for which much space would be needed, I will ask the reader to accept, not my opinion, but that of one who was an independent and avowedly not a partial witness. The reviewer in the *Spectator* of February 8, says that he finds no trace of the “double voice,” and thus expresses himself: “In the diaries and letters purposing to give what Mr. Purcell calls the inner man, who doubted the validity of the Anglican position, from the year 1846 to the year 1850, we find likewise expressed the suspicion that the doubt may be due to delusion. This being so, he declares it to be his duty to speak hopefully of the English Church, and not to unsettle others in their allegiance to it. And in the letters cited in the same chapter as giving the outer man, or the public voice, we do not find assertions inconsistent with private doubts of the Anglican position, but rather a line of argument which urges the duty of remaining in the Anglican communion in spite of personal doubts.” One point that has come out of the examination of this part of Mr. Purcell’s *Life* is too characteristic of his carelessness, and too important to be passed over. One letter from Archdeacon Manning to Archdeacon Wilberforce is

specially relied upon to show that the former very early lost all faith in the Church of England; for which purpose the correct date of the letter is all-important. It is therefore difficult to believe that, as the Bishop of Clifton has pointed out, the letter in question is assigned two different dates (1847 and 1849) in the same page (vol. i., p. 481) and within a few lines the latter being proved to be the right date by the letter itself later on (p. 515). I do not in the least suggest that this was intended to gain a momentary advantage; but such would be the effect upon a careless reader. However, the Cardinal's friends are surely justified in warning the public that no credence should be given to the documents published in the book before us until they have been compared by some competent person with the originals.

But undoubtedly the chief interest of this charge of duplicity centres in Mr. Gladstone, who here acts as a witness, and also as an assessor, or *amicus curiæ*, to the biographer. It was, perhaps, not unnatural that Mr. Gladstone should have felt some irritation on discovering that Mr. Manning had chosen Archdeacon Wilberforce for his confidant rather than himself. There were, however, several very good reasons which may have accounted for this preference. Manning may have felt there was much that he could say to one whom he regarded as a priest, that he could not so readily confide to a layman; Mr. Gladstone would have been more active in his opposition; finally, the latter's friends wished to spare him, knowing that he was in other ways passing through a period of anxiety and trial. Whatever may have been the reason for it, others took the same line of reticence as the Archdeacon. Mr. Gladstone will no doubt remember he observed that Mr. Hope began to doubt in 1841 or 1842; but that in spite of their intimacy he never wrote

or spoke of his difficulties to Mr. Gladstone during the ten years that elapsed before his conversion. The particular case of which Mr. Gladstone most complained was when he and Archdeacon Manning were walking together in the summer of 1848, when the latter said that when he was ill and believed himself dying in 1847, he had an absolute assurance that the English Church was a living part of the Church of Christ.

Let it first be noticed that the phrase taken alone does not deny—nay, rather presupposes—that the speaker had avowed that he sometimes experienced doubts of the Anglican position. It seems to me, however, more likely that Mr. Gladstone's memory has played him false, after the lapse of forty-eight years, and that Mr. Manning was more correct when he, in 1850, denied the accuracy of Mr. Gladstone's recollection of their conversation. Mr. Gladstone's conclusion is that the Archdeacon was—not insincere, but “not simple and straightforward, as Robert Wilberforce was simple and straightforward.” The most wonderful thing in all this incident is that Mr. Gladstone, who has been a statesman all his life, should never have realized how difficult it is in the world of politics for a progressive minister to avoid the imputation of insincerity. Some of his public opponents would repeat, “*Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes?*” I prefer to point out that the great Sir R. Peel is a striking instance that this is the common fate of all who have the courage to change their opinions, with further knowledge or in altered circumstances.

The only other point which need here be touched is the correspondence between Monsignor George Talbot and Dr. Manning; and here sins of omission are the chief ones to remark. It was an act of reckless atrocity,

like casting bombs aimlessly among a crowd, to scatter abroad suggestions that tarnished the reputations of many persons whom their friends held in veneration and esteem. But if it were necessary, the public should have been more thoroughly warned, than I find in this book, that the two parties were contending for opposed principles, that there were excellent and worthy men on both sides, and that the moment Rome had finally spoken, all became reconciled. The biographer has found room for many irrelevant anecdotes, more or less inaccurately told; the account of the last illness of Canon Maguire, which I do not see in this book, is worth them all. During his last and lingering illness, Archbishop Manning visited him daily, and these visits were such a consolation to the dying man, that he said, "Your footsteps are as music to my ear." It should also have been made clear that Dr. Manning did not thrust himself uninvited into a contention which was no concern of his. On the contrary, he corresponded with Monsignor Talbot, as the agent appointed by Cardinal Wiseman in Rome; and in so doing he was only obeying his bishop. Further, it should be remarked that his conduct was the reverse of what would have been dictated by ambition. During the whole of the Errington variances he occupied a position which it was clear imperilled his own position and the very existence of his infant community. When he recognized in Dr. Ullathorne the fittest person to succeed the dying Cardinal, he pressed the appointment with characteristic vigour, and even risked, and nearly lost, the Cardinal's affection by the pertinacity with which he urged the appointment. Yet he was well aware that Dr. Ullathorne's nomination to the See of Westminster destroyed any hopes of his succeeding to it. These are not the acts of an inordinately ambitious man.

I am only too conscious that I have only succeeded in contributing a very little to the accumulating mass of replies to this biography. But I am well assured that sooner or later the justice of our fellow-countrymen will prevail, and that they will judge between Cardinal Manning and his biographer. There are abundant signs of this already; of which, perhaps, the most beautiful is the publication of the letter he wrote to a child in America. Those who had the slightest knowledge of the late Cardinal will have no difficulty in recognizing which is the truer portrait:—the friend of children, of the poor and the distressed, or the monster of inconsistent qualities set up by his biographer.

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